1076
VOL II
(19 MAY - 5 JUN)

1967

File No. 1076

~~FO 371/209~~
FO 174/397

Name of File—

INTER ARAB AFFAIRS
(9 ARAB/ISRAEL WAR)

NO MINUTES TO BE WRITTEN HERE

RECORD OF WEEDING		
	INITIALS	DATE
2 YEARS		9/11/71
5 YEARS (CONSULAR POSTS ONLY)		
10 YEARS		

CLOSED UNTIL 2001

LAST Year's File No. 1076/66

NEXT Year's File No.

1076

1967

(1883) D. 156230 177M 10/65 P.I. Gp. 610

1076

AMBASSADE DU KOWEIT

-R A B A T-

N° T/27/67

L'Ambassade du Koweit à Rabat présente ses compliments aux Missions Diplomatiques accréditées au Maroc et a l'honneur de les informer que:

Le Conseil des Ministres Koweitien a décidé en date du 18 Mai 1967 de mettre l'Armée du Koweit avec toutes ses dispositifs en état d'engagement et sera à la disposition du Commandement Arabe Unifié, pour participer au Combat Sainte de la Nation Arabe. Des instructions on été donnés pour éxécuter les ordres du Commandement Arabe Unifié dès sa réception.

L'Ambassade du Koweit saisit cette occasion pour renouveler aux Missions Diplomatiques Accréditée au Maroc les assurances de sa haute considération.

RABAT LE 19 MAI 1967

AUX MISSIONS DIPLOMATIQUES ACCREDITEES

A - R A B A T -

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Forces d'Urgence

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VERBATIM SERVICE 216/67 FRIDAY 19TH MAY 1967

United Nations Emergency Force - British Statement.

[FOREIGN SECRETARY AT U.N. ASSOCIATION DINNER (MIDDLE EAST EXTRACT)]

THE FOLLOWING IS A VERBATIM EXTRACT FROM SPEECH BY THE FOREIGN SECRETARY AT THE U.N. ASSOCIATION DINNER IN LONDON ON THURSDAY 18 MAY.

''TONIGHT WE SEE A CRITICAL SITUATION DEVELOPING IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT IS CRITICAL FOR US WHO BELIEVE IN AND SUPPORT THE UNITED NATIONS IN ITS PEACE-KEEPING ACTIVITIES.

''FOR A DECADE NOW THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE HAS HELPED TO KEEP THE PEACE ON THE BORDER OF ISRAEL AND THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC. ITS PRESENCE THERE IN THE SINAI DESERT HAS KEPT TENSION DOWN ON THAT DIFFICULT AND POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE BORDER. WE DON'T HAVE TO LOOK FURTHER FOR A UNITED NATIONS SUCCESS. IT IS THERE IN UNEF.

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''' AND YET TONIGHT THE SITUATION IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.A.R. HAS MADE A FORMAL REQUEST FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE UNEF FROM ITS TERRITORY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

''IT REALLY MAKES A MOCKERY OF THE PEACE-KEEPING WORK OF THE U.N. IF, AS SOON AS TENSION RISES, THE U.N. FORCE IS TOLD TO LEAVE. INDEED THE COLLAPSE OF THE UNEF MIGHT WELL HAVE REPERCUSSIONS ON OTHER U.N. PEACE-KEEPING FORCES AND THE FUTURE CREDIBILITY OF THE U.N. EFFORTS IN THIS FIELD ARE THROWN INTO QUESTION.

''THE SITUATION IS NOW BEING CONSIDERED URGENTLY BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN CONSULTATION WITH THE PERMANENT REPRESENT-ATIVES ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL. U THANT KNOWS THAT HE HAS THE FULL SUPPORT OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN ANYTHING THAT HE DOES TO ENSURE THAT UNEF REMAINS ACTIVE AND IN THE FIELD.

''UNEF WAS ESTABLISHED WITH THE FULL CONCURRENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS. IT IS THE COROLLARY THAT ANY DECISION TO WITHDRAW THE FORCE SOULD BE TAKEN IN THE UNITED NATIONS AFTER FULL CONSULTATION WITH ALL THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED: IT SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN AS A RESULT OF SOME UNILATERAL DECISION.

''I CALL UPON ALL MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO ENSURE THAT THIS IS DONE.''

END VS216/67 L P S
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FOR 002 FOLDN 191806Z GR 300
IMMEDIATE FOREIGN OFFICE TO RABAT
TELNO GUIDANCE 10719 DATED 19 MAY 1967.
THE FOREIGN SECRETARY'S VISIT TO MOSCOW.

THE FOLLOWING WAS USED NON-ATTRIBUTABLY BY NEWS DEPARTMENT (F.O.) AT THEIR DAILY PRESS CONFERENCE ON 19 MAY:

Correction below 19/5

OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS, MR. BROWN HAS AS YOU KNOW BEEN PAYING CLOSE ATTENTION TO DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE DEMAND FOR WITHDRAWAL OF THE U.N.E.F. CREATED A NEW SITUATION AND IN THE COURSE OF YESTERDAY MR. BROWN WAS IN TOUCH WITH OUR AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW SINCE THE WAY THE SITUATION WAS DEVELOPING MIGHT, IT WAS FELT, AFFECT HIS PLANS TO SET OFF THIS MORNING.

TI

2. IN THE MIDDLE EAST ITSELF THE PRECISE SITUATION OF THE U.N.E.F. WAS NOT CLEAR. MEANWHILE, OF COURSE, INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS WERELTAKING PLACE IN NEW YORK. MR. BROWN HOPED THAT THE SITUATION WOULD BECOME CLEARER BUT WHEN HE REVIEWED THE SITUATION ABOUT MIDNIGHT LAST NIGHT WITH HIS ADVISORS, HE DECIDED A FINAL DECISION WHETHER OR NOT TO POSTPONE HIS DEPARTURE FOR MOSCOW SHOULD ONLY BE TAKEN IN THE LIGHT OF ANY FURTHER REPORTS THAT MIGHT BE RECEIVED OVER NIGHT. HE THEREFORE HELD A FURTHER MEETING AT 8 A.M. THIS MORNING WHEN IT WAS DECIDED THAT THE SERIOUS DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE AND IN PARTICULAR THE FACT THAT THE SITUATION NEITHER IN THE MIDDLE EAST NOR IN THE U.N. WAS CLEAR, MUST OBLIGE HIM TO POSTPONE HIS DEPARTURE. SIR GEOFFREY HARRISON WAS THEREFORE IMMEDIATELY INSTRUCTED TO INFORM MR. GROMYKO THAT MR. BROWN MUCH REGRETTED THAT THESE CIRCUMSTANCES OBLIGED HIM TO PUT OFF HIS DEPARTURE. MR. BROWN WILL LOOK AT THE SITUATION AGAIN IN A FEW DAYS AND IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO CARRY OUT A SOMEWHAT CURTAILED VISIT WHICH WOULD AT LEAST INCLUDE THE TALKS WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN ARRANGED WITH MR. GROMYKO AND SOME OF HIS COLLEAGUES.

3. EXTRACT FROM FOREIGN SECRETARY'S SPEACH TO UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION DINNER ON 18 MAY (TO WHICH YOU SHOULD GIVE WIDEST PUBLICITY) HAS BEEN SENT TO YOU AS VERBATIM 216 OR BY SEPARATE TELEGRAM.

Release issued 19/5

Yes.

SOSFA
SENT 1812Z/19 AW

A.L. Southern 22.V
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1076

ROUTINE FOREIGN OFFICETO RABAT
TELNO W191 19 MAY 1967

FOLLOWING SENT TO JEDDA TELNO 689 OF 18 MAY
~~XXXXXXXX~~

FOR INFORMATION TO CAIRO, ADEN, BEIRUT (R.I.O.)
ANB SAVING TO AMMAN, BRVDHID &BAHRAIN, DAMASCUS, KUWAWT,
TEHRAN, TEL AVIV, JERUSALEM.

SAUDI ARABIAN BOMBING.

IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION, FOREIGN OFFICE SPOKESMAN SAID TODAY: ''HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT DEEPLY DEPLORE THE BOMBING RAIDS CARRIED OUT BY U.A.R. AIRCRAFT AGAINST THE SAUDI ARABIAN TOWNS OF NAJRAN AND JIZAN IN THE PERIOD 11-14 MAY. THEY CONDEMN THIS FURTHER UNPROVOKED RESORT TO FORCE, AND THEY HAVE CONVEYED TO HIS MAJESTY KING FEISAL THEIR SYMPATHY ON THE LOSS OF LIFE, INJURIES AND MATERIAL DAMAGE CAUSED.''

IN REPLY TO A FURTHER QUESTION: ''WE HAVE HEARD OF NO RAID ON KHAMIS MUSHAIT, WHERE BRITISH CIVILIAN PERSONNEL EMPLOYED ON THE SAUDI ARABIAN AIR DEFENCE SCHEME ARE STATIONED. WE ARE SURE(Sic) ~~SO~~ THAT IF THERE HAD BEEN SUCH A RAID WE SHOULD HAVE HAD NEWS OF IT.''
SOSFA

CN: SAUDI ARABIAN

TPD 200752Z UC ++

PRODROME RABAT

please inform the Saudi Embassy of an appropriate level in case they wish to use this

A.L. Sowton 22.V

I.C. 22/V

L.O. 22/V

H.F.C.

Hk to see with tel. below.

22/5

H.E.

Al Alam (Istiqlal) No. 6208 of May 22, 1967.

1076

Item C. 1.

Morocco's attitude towards events in the Arab World.

It has been decided that Ahmed Balafrej, Minister and Personal Representative of His Majesty, should visit Cairo to see President Jamal Abdul Nasser on the occasion of the grave events which are menacing the Arab East. Although we have no knowledge of the nature of his mission, the people had expected Morocco to do its duty, ever since the outbreak of the crisis early last week, and to show solidarity with Arab States with which it shares the same religious, racial and language ties apart from the Arab League Charter and the resolutions for solidarity emanating from Summit Meetings.

It is quite possible that the Minister has been entrusted with a message of moral solidarity with the U.A.R. in view of the Israeli provocations which the latter is withstanding firmly. But this is not sufficient. We will not be contented with an expression of secret solidarity by means of a written or verbal message the Minister is taking, but want the Government to fulfil all its moral and material obligations towards the Arab motherland - undertakings which are imposed by the collective solidarity pact. We expect the Government to study the military and political position in the Arab East with the States which are confronting the danger, and to honour its obligations with faith and determination.

The Israeli provocation is resultant from the Palestinian tragedy towards which our attitude is explicit. Therefore if Arab countries will wage a battle for Palestine and its safety which is menaced by the Israeli presence, then it is our duty to take up arms and stand by them, and not be contented with verbal messages.

The valiant Moroccan Army whose March Past we watched on the occasion of its anniversary is both powerful and courageous and ready to indulge in a campaign for the safety of the Arab world just as it would do for Morocco's protection. If contingents of this Army will be sent to stand by the Egyptians or the Syrians or the Jordanians or the Lebanese, we are certain that they will do so gloriously and will give evidence of valour in the field of honour equivalent to that displayed in national defence.

In the light of the above we would like the Minister's mission to Cairo to be positive and not merely sentimental. We would like its results to be clear so as to give effective evidence of our solidarity with the Arab world, and to show that our remoteness from the battle field does not exempt us from responsibility or from active participation therein. We are expectantly waiting to see what will transpire.

We must try to find out what manner Balafrej was charged with — mediation? promise of support? warning not to expect support?

A.O.S.M
O.S. | AES
I.O.
U.A.R.

22/V

London Press Service

Verbatim Service

VERBATIM SERVICE 218/67 MONDAY 22ND MAY 1967

FOREIGN SECRETARY INTERVIEWED ON TV.

FOLLOWING IS VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF SUBSTANCE OF BBC PANORAMA INTERVIEW BY ROBIN DAY WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MR. GEORGE BROWN, ON MONDAY 22 MAY 1967:

ROBIN DAY: FOREIGN SECRETARY, FROM YOUR LATEST INFORMATION AND FOR THE BENEFIT OF EVERYONE WATCHING, WHAT IS YOUR ESTIMATE OF THE DANGER OF WAR NOW IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

MR.BROWN: WELL, IT OBVIOUSLY MUST BE A VERY WORRYING SITUATION. THE EGYPTIAN BUILD UP IS OF A VERY CONSIDERABLE ORDER INDEED IN THE SINAI AREA. THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS FORCE, NOT ONLY THERE BUT, IMPORTANTLY, FROM SHARM EL SHAIKH, DOWN IN THE GULF TOWARDS THE STRAITS OF TEHERAN, IS OBVIOUSLY VERY SERIOUS INDEED. AND I HAVE FELT OVER THIS WEEKEND ONE OUGHT TO TAKE IT VERY SERIOUSLY. ON THE OTHER HAND, I CAN'T READ OTHER PEOPLE'S MINDS AND IT'S IMPOSSIBLE THEREFORE TO KNOW WHAT THEY INTEND TO DO BUT CLEARLY THERE IS A SITUATION OF EXTREME GRAVITY THERE.

R.DAY: DOES BRITAIN HAVE ANY OBLIGATION TO TAKE ACTION IN THIS MATTER? I AM THINKING IN PARTICULAR OF THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, I THINK OF 1950, IN WHICH WE DID DECLARE, OURSELVES, THAT WE WOULD TAKE ACTION INSIDE OR OUTSIDE THE UNITED NATIONS TO DEAL WITH VIOLATION OF FRONTIERS.

MR.BROWN: YES, 1950 IS, OF COURSE, 17 YEARS AGO AND GREAT CHANGES HAVE HAPPENED SINCE THEN. WE, ALMOST ALONE, HAD FORCES IN A NUMBER OF THE COUNTRIES AROUND THAT AREA IN THOSE DAYS. IF I MAY BE ALLOWED TO MENTION IT, SUEZ HAPPENED SIX YEARS LATER, AND CHANGED THE SITUATION. THE WHOLE QUESTION OF FORCES AND SUPPLIES HAS CHANGED IN THE MEANTIME. AND IN 1963 MR. MACMILLAN MADE A STATEMENT RATHER SUPERCEDING THE 1950 DECLARATION WHICH WE HAVE VIRTUALLY RE-AFFIRMED WHILE WE HAVE BEEN IN THE GOVERNMENT. MY OWN VIEW IS THE ONE I EXPRESSED THIS WEEKEND. I THINK WE HAVE TO ENGAGE THE UNITED NATIONS IN THIS DANGEROUS SITUATION AND SEEK TO TAKE ACTION THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS IN ORDER TO AVERT THE DANGERS WHICH, I REPEAT, ARE PARTLY ON LAND AND PARTLY THROUGH INTERRUPTION OF THE PASSAGE OF SHIPS IN THE STRAITS OF TEHERAN.

R.DAY: DO YOU SEE ANY LIKELIHOOD OF BRITAIN BEING INVOLVED IN ANY MILITARY ACTION EITHER IN OR OUTSIDE THE UNITED NATIONS IN THIS AREA?

MR.BROWN: WELL, I HOPE WE CAN AVOID ALL THAT. NOBODY IS LOOKING FORWARD TO SETTING THAT PLACE ALIGHT AND I WILL BE VERY SURPRISED IF ANY OTHER COUNTRY IS EITHER. BUT, AS I SAID THE OTHER NIGHT, I AM REALLY VERY DISTURBED THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS SHOULD HAVE, SO PRECIPITATELY, IT SEEMED TO ME, PULLED OUT AND I THINK THE GREAT THING NOW IS TO GET SOME KIND OF UNITED NATIONS PRESENCE OR INFLUENCE IN THAT AREA. AND I SPENT THE ENTIRE WEEKEND NOT ONLY IN CONSULTATION WITH NEW YORK BUT WITH OTHER CAPITALS OF ALL THOSE WHO, LIKE US, LIKE WE OURSELVES, ARE INVOLVED, TO SEE HOW WE CAN ORGANISE IT SO THAT THERE ISN'T ANY RISK OF US GOING TO WAR.

R.DAY: DOES THE PRECIPITATE, TO USE YOUR OWN WORD, U.N. WITHDRAWAL FROM GAZA WEAKEN THE CONFIDENCE YOU MAY HAVE IN THE ABILITY OF THE U.N. TO ACT AS A PEACE KEEPING FORCE OR STABILISING INFLUENCE IN OTHER PARTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST, NOTABLY ADEN AND SOUTH ARABIA?

MR.BROWN: WELL, THEY AREN'T, OF COURSE... THEY AREN'T ACTING AS A PEACE KEEPING FORCE IN SOUTH ARABIA OR ADEN. THEY ARE IN CYPRUS. WHEN I SPOKE THE OTHER NIGHT ABOUT THROWING DOUBTS UPON THE CREDIBILITY OF PEACE KEEPING FORCES ELSEWHERE, I HAD CYPRUS VERY MUCH IN MIND. BUT THERE IS NO DOUBT, IN MY VIEW, SPEAKING AS A VERY STRONG PRO UNITED NATIONS MAN, THAT WHAT HAS HAPPENED HAS THROWN DOUBTS ON IT ALL. BUT IT IS STILL OUR BEST HOPE, IT IS STILL OUR BEST BET, AS IT WERE, FOR THE FUTURE AND WE MUST SEEK TO GET IT BACK, SEEK TO RECOVER WHAT GROUND HAS BEEN LOST AND RECOGNISE THAT THE U.N. STILL HAS A GREAT ROLE TO PLAY IN SOUTH ARABIA AS WELL AS ELSEWHERE.

R.DAY: DO YOU THINK THAT RUSSIA CAN MATERIALLY INFLUENCE THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST IF SHE SO WISHES?

MR.BROWN: OH, I THINK CERTAINLY. RUSSIA HAS CONNECTIONS, CONTACTS, INFLUENCE WITH SOME OF THE POWERS IN THAT AREA AND I HAVEN'T VERY MUCH DOUBT MYSELF, MR.DAY, THAT SHE, LIKE WE OURSELVES, WOULD BE VERY DISTURBED IF WAR WERE TO BREAK OUT THERE AND I WOULD BE VERY SURPRISED IF SHE ISN'T USING HER INFLUENCE.

R.DAY: AND THIS IS A MATTER YOU WILL RAISE ON YOUR VISIT TO MOSCOW WHICH YOU START TOMORROW, I GATHER?

MR.BROWN: WELL, WHAT WE DISCUSS WHEN I GO TO MOSCOW IS, I THINK, BETWEEN THEM AND ME. I AM NOT GOING SPECIALLY TO DISCUSS THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS TOUR WAS ARRANGED LONG BEFORE THEN BUT I WOULD BE A BIT SURPRISED IF THE SUBJCT DION'T CROP UP.

R.DAY: ONE OF THE SUBJECTS I'M SURE YOU WILL RAISE IN MOSCOW, FOREIGN SECRETARY, IS VIETNAM, DO YOU CONSIDER PARTICULARLY IN YOUR POSITION AS CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE THAT THE AMERICANS ARE JUSTIFIED IN MOVING UP INTO THE SO-CALLED DEMILITARISED ZONE IN VIETNAM?

MR.BROWN: WELL, IF THERE HAD BEEN NOBODY ELSE IN THE DEMILITARISED ZONE OF VIETNAM, THEY WOULD OF COURSE NOT HAVE BEEN JUSTIFIED IN DOING SO AND IF THEY'D GONE INTO THE DEMILITARISED ZONE AND FOUND NOBODY ELSE THERE THEY'D HAVE BEEN HORRIBLY IN THE WRONG. I'M AFRAID THE PROBLEM IS THAT OTHER PEOPLE HAVE BEEN IN THE DEMILITARISED ZONE, WHERE THEY SHOULDN'T HAVE BEEN, FOR A VERY LONG TIME, AND THE AMERICANS HAVE STAYED OUTSIDE WHILE THAT ZONE WAS BEING USED AS A GATHERING POST FOR NORTH VIETNAMESE FORCES WHO WERE THEN INFILTRATED INTO THE SOUTH. NOW I DON'T APPROVE OF FIGHTING IN THE DEMILITARISED ZONE, INDEED LET'S MAKE IT WHAT IT WAS. I'M A CO-CHAIRMAN AND I HOPE MR.GROMYKO WILL AGREE WITH ME THAT OUR RESPONSIBILITY AS CO-CHAIRMEN, AMONG OTHER THINGS, IS TO SEE THAT THAT BECOMES AGAIN A DEMILITARISED ZONE, BUT THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS IT WAS THE NORTH VIETNAMESE WHO WERE THERE, WHO WERE USING IT, AND I THINK IT'S VERY HARD TO SAY TO THE AMERICANS' YOU MUST NEVER GO IN AND PUSH THEM OUT'.

R.DAY: HOW DO YOU INTERPRET CHINESE ACTIONS IN SHANGHAI AND ALSO IN HONG KONG.....

MR. BROWN: WELL,.... I DON'T REALLY UNDERSTAND THE HONG KONG THING EXCEPT I SUSPECT IT'S A SPILL OVER FROM THE SO-CALLED CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA AND I HAVE A FEELING MYSELF - I'M NOT SURE MY EXPERTS WOULD AGREE WITH ME ABOUT THIS - THAT THE AUTHORITIES PROBABLY DON'T CONTROL IT AS MUCH AS THEY WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT THEY DO. IN SHANGHAI THE TREATMENT OF OUR POST THEIR AND OF OUR MR. HEWITT AND HIS FAMILY THERE, I THINK HAS BEEN ABSOLUTELY OUTRAGEOUS, UNFORGIVABLE AND INTOLERABLE, AND I HAVE SAID SO: BUT THERE AGAIN IF THEY DON'T CONTROL THINGS ALL THAT WELL IN PEKING AND THEY OBVIOUSLY DON'T, OR IN HONG KONG, I SUPPOSE IT'S QUITE LIKELY THEY DON'T CONTROL IT ALL THAT WELL IN SHANGHAI.

R.DAY: HAVE YOU ANY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT YOUR PROTEST, WHICH ONE UNDERSTANDS WAS VERY SHARPLY WORDED TO THE CHINESE ENVOY IN LONDON, HAS HAD ANY EFFECT?

MR.BROWN: WELL, I DON'T KNOW BUT CERTAINLY IT HAD TO BE SAID, I THINK. SINCE THEN OUR INFORMATION IS THAT THE - AND I DON'T WANT TO SAY ANYTHING HERE WHICH MAY DISTURB IT ALL AGAIN - BUT OUR INFORMATION SINCE THEN IS THAT THINGS HAVE BEEN AT A RATHER LOWER LEVEL. I'M NOT VERY CLEAR WHAT THE ULTIMATE ATTITUDE TO OUR POST IN SHANGHAI WILL BE, BUT I HAVEN'T HAD ANY INFORMATION IN THE LAST FEW DAYS THAT WE'VE BEEN SUBJECT TO THE TREATMENT WE WERE HAVING JUST BEFORE.

R.DAY: TAKING ALL THESE VARIOUS PROBLEMS INTO CONSIDERATION, FOREIGN SECRETARY, DO YOU SHARE THE FEAR, WHICH U THANT EXPRESSED THE OTHER DAY - AND I USE HIS WORDS - 'THAT WE ARE IN THE INITIAL STAGES OF WORLD WAR THREE?'

MR.BROWN: I THINK THAT WAS A RATHER OVER-DRAMATIC WAY OF PUTTING IT, QUITE FRANKLY. I DON'T THINK HE COULD POSSIBLY KNOW AND I CERTAINLY DON'T KNOW AND INDEED I TRUST THAT WE ARE NOT, I DON'T SEE ANY REASON FOR PUTTING IT THAT WAY. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF WHAT HE MEANT - AND I SUSPECT THIS IS WHAT HE DID MEAN - THAT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF FLASH POINTS AROUND THE WORLD, THE MIDDLE EAST CLEARLY IS ONE OF THEM BUT THERE ARE OTHERS, ANY ONE OF WHICH COULD ERUPT AND COULD BE HELPED TO ERUPT BY SOME LUNATIC AND THERFORE ANY ONE OF THESE COULD SET OFF WORLD WAR THREE, WELL THIS IS OBVIOUSLY TRUE OF THE SITUATION. ONE OF THE REASONS WHY I AM WORKING SO HARD TRYING TO GET A NON-PROLIFERATION AGREEMENT, ONE REASON WHY I AM TRYING TO GET THE VIETNAMESE WAR STOPPED, ONE OF THE REASONS WHY I AM TRYING TO GET THE UNITED NATIONS BACK INTO POSITION IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS BECAUSE I RECOGNISE ONLY TOO WELL THAT ANY ONE OF THESE COULD BE A FLASH POINT. BUT, HAVING SAID ALL THAT, I THINK U THANT MAYBE OVERDID IT A LITTLE BIT.

R.DAY: MAY I TURN FOR A BRIEF MOMENT, FOREIGN SECRETARY, TO THE EUROPEAN SCENE WHERE THE PROBLEMS ARE OF AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT NATURE? DO YOU THINK THAT YOU HAVE MISJUDGED WHAT PRESIDENT DE GAULLE'S REACTION WOULD BE TO OUR COMMON MARKET BID?

MR.BROWN: NO, I DON'T THINK SO. I DON'T THINK ONE COULD HAVE EXPECTED HIM TO SAY ANYTHING MUCH DIFFERENTLY FROM THAT. I DON'T KNOW THAT THERE WAS MUCH DIFFERENT IN WHAT HE SAID AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE FROM WHAT HE SAID TO MR.WILSON AND MYSELF WHEN WE WERE IN PARIS. WE OBVIOUSLY HAVE A TOUGH PERIOD OF BARGAINING AHEAD OF US, AS WE SAID IMMEDIATELY AFTERWARDS. OUR APPLICATION IS IN. ALL RIGHT, WE HAVE NOTED HIS VIEWS. WHAT WE NOW HAVE TO DO IS GO ON AND GET ON WITH THE JOB OF NEGOTIATING OUR WAY IN.

R.DAY: BUT DID HE SAY ANYTHING WHICH GAVE YOU ANY GROUND WHATEVER FOR BELIEVING THAT THERE WAS SOME HOPE IN GOING ON WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS?

MR.BROWN: I THINK HE WAS JUST EXPLAINING HIS ATTITUDE TO A NUMBER OF RATHER GRAND AND BROAD ISSUES. I DON'T THINK HE WAS EITHER TRYING TO GIVE US HOPE OR NOT GIVE US HOPE. I THINK THAT IT'S TIME WE STOPPED THINKING AS OFTEN AS WE DO ABOUT THE OTHER CHAP AND TRYING TO READ HIS MIND AND TIME WE STARTED TO GET ON WITH THE JOB AS WE SEE IT. AND HAVING PUT THE APPLICATION IN, IT'S THE PRIME MINISTER'S INTENTION AND MINE NOW TO GET ON WITH THE JOB OF NEGOTIATING WITH THE SIX FOR MEMBERSHIP.

END VERBATIM SERVICE 218/67 L P S

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

CONFIDENTIAL.

107

Minutes.

Haj Ahmed Balafrej's Mission to Cairo.

By chance the above mission was discussed by Mohamed Sijilmassi, new Under Secretary of State at the Royal Cabinet, Commandant Fenniri, A.D.C. to H.R.H. Prince Moulay Abdallah, M. Chraibi Director of Cabinet of the Minister of P.T.T. and some others, when the announcement happened to be made on the Radio at a Luncheon Party given yesterday by the Jordanian Ambassador to which I was invited.

I gathered that Balafrej was sent to express moral solidarity, and excuses for inability to send out troops, firstly because Morocco had no relations with Syria and secondly and mainly because, on account of the situation with Algeria and with Spain, Morocco could not afford to send troops outside its territory at the moment and as long as the present position stands. The message implied a dig at the U.A.R. which was encouraging Algerian belligerence on the Moroccan frontiers.

A. Lamrani
22/5/1967.

This has the ring of authenticity: express sympathy but claim inability to help.
A.L. Sorton
22.V

O.S. 22/5
C. 22/5
H.E. This sounds very likely.
I hope to see the Director of the M.E. Desk, Min FA in the course of today or tomorrow and will ask him.
J.H. 22/5

CONFIDENTIAL.

Please let me know what he says
Yes. Separate minute
30/5 22.V

M.F.P

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2. IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS THEY SAID THAT THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS WOULD NATURALLY BE ONE OF THE SUBJECTS TO BE DISCUSSED. THERE WOULD BE MANY OTHERS.

3. ASKED ABOUT PRESS REPORTS THAT THE AMERICANS WERE THINKING REVIVING THE TRIPARTITE DECLARATION OF 1950 AND H.M.G'S ATTITUDE TO THE DECLARATION, NEWS DEPARTMENT RECALLED THE FOLLOWING RELEVANT STATEMENTS IN PARLIAMENT.

(A) MR. MACMILLAN ON 14 MAY, 1963: QUOTE WE REGARD THE UNITED NATIONS AS BEING PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MAINTAINANCE OF PEACE IN THE AREA. IF ANY THREAT TO PEACE ARISES WE WILL CONSULT IMMEDIATELY WITH THE UNITED NATIONS AND WILL TAKE WHATEVER ACTION WE FEEL MAY BE REQUIRED UNQUOTE

(B) MR. WILSON ON 13 APRIL 1965: QUOTE THE TRIPARTITE DECLARATION OF 1950 WAS INTENDED TO EXPRESS THE POLICY OF BRITAIN, FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES AT THAT TIME. IT HAS NOT REPEAT NOT BEEN RETRACTED..... IN THE COURSE OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEBATE ON 16 DECEMBER 1964, I ENDORSED MR. MACMILLAN'S STATEMENT OF 14 MAY 1963..... THE ORIGINAL DECLARATION WAS SIGNED AT A TIME WHEN THE SIGNATORIES COULD REGARD THEMSELVES AS VIRTUALLY THE ARBITERS OF MIDDLE EAST POLICY. THIS IS NO LONGER THE POSITION TODAY..... UNQUOTE.

(C) MR. BROWN ON 19 DECEMBER 1966: QUOTE THE SITUATION HAS CHANGED A GOOD DEAL SINCE THE TRIPARTITE DECLARATION WAS MADE AND I REPEAT THAT MR. MACMILLAN MADE A STATEMENT WHICH SUPERSEDED IT. WE HAVE NOT GONE BEYOND THAT. UNQUOTE.

SOSFA/CR~~XXX~~C

SENT AT 1734Z/22 MAY 1967 E.J.H.

PRODROME RABAT
PRODROME LONDON

1076 suite.

Presse arabe

"Al-Anbâ"(officieux) - 23 mai 1967

(manchette sur huit colonnes)

S.M. le roi réaffirme la solidarité du Maroc avec les pays arabes frères dans leur énergique position face aux menaces sionistes

Devant la tension qui règne au Moyen-Orient par suite de l'attitude agressive du petit Etat d'Israël à l'égard de certains pays arabes, S.M. notre roi vénéré Hassan II a décidé de charger M. Haj Ahmed Balafrej, représentant personnel de Sa Majesté d'une mission spéciale au Moyen-Orient tout particulièrement auprès du président de la RAU, M. Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Cette mission s'inscrit dans le cadre de la solidarité arabe, préconisée par S.M. notre roi vénéré, et de l'amitié qui unit notre noble souverain au président Gamal Abdel Nasser.

M. Ahmed Balafrej, ministre représentant personnel de S.M. le roi quittera Rabat ce matin à destination du Caire, via Paris, pour accomplir une mission dont l'a chargé S.M. le roi au Moyen-Orient.

Le Cabinet royal avait publié dimanche un communiqué dans lequel il annonçait que S.M. notre roi vénéré avait reçu M. Ahmed Balafrej et l'avait chargé de se rendre au Caire auprès de S.E. le président Gamal Abdel Nasser pour obtenir des renseignements sur la tension qui règne actuellement dans la zone du Moyen-Orient et réaffirmer, par ailleurs au secrétaire général de la Ligue arabe la solidarité du Maroc avec les Etats arabes frères dans leur énergique position face aux menaces sionistes et dans leur défense des droits des Arabes de Palestine.

This was later denied. gdlq 26/5

L'agence M.A.P. a diffusé hier que S.M. notre roi vénéré avait chargé M. Ahmed Balafrej d'une mission auprès des chefs d'Etat arabes et que le Caire serait la première étape de la tournée de M. le ministre au Moyen-Orient. (...)

I was unaware of this statement when approved yesterday's tel. ~~t.o. dlq 24/5~~ dlq 26/5

25/V

1076

N° 110/67

Lundi 22 mai 1967

Presse marocaine de langue arabe

Traductions

Al-Alam : Nous proclamons notre entière solidarité avec toute action positive de la part d'un Etat ou d'un groupe d'Etats arabes, pour écraser l'agresseur israélien.

Al-Alam : Ce que devrait être la position du Maroc face aux événements du Moyen-Orient - L'héroïque armée marocaine est prête à se battre pour défendre la patrie arabe.

x x x

Al-Alam : Les problèmes de l'enseignement - "L'échec des expériences précédentes exige qu'on en tente une autre".

Presse arabe

"Al-Alam" (Istiqlal) - 21 mai 1967

(Editorial)

Pour parer l'agression

Les zones orientales de notre patrie arabe vivent une période de troubles très graves dus aux provocations d'Israël. En effet, cette créature du colonialisme, éloquente illustration de l'usurpation et de l'occupation, menace la République arabe de Syrie d'attaquer Damas par représailles contre les volontaires palestiniens qui livrent une action victorieuse contre le bastion du colonialisme, à l'intérieur même du territoire occupé.

(...) De quelque origine que ce soit et quels que soient les maîtres qui commandent en Israël, lui fournissant armes et argent et lui apportant soutien international et moral, il n'en demeure pas moins que c'est toujours le colonialisme qui se tient sans cesse derrière Israël pour qu'il menace la patrie arabe, conformément au plan qu'il a élaboré le jour où il a créé cet "Etat".

Cette situation nous place devant une réalité effrayante, à savoir que le colonialisme continue à guetter les pays arabes et à y faire la loi par le truchement d'Israël et grâce aux armes qu'il concentre dans ce pays et aux visées agressives qu'il lui dicte.

C'est pourquoi il faut que les Etats arabes envisagent la situation comme si le colonialisme se trouvait au coeur de chaque pays arabe car Israël, qui a usurpé hier la Palestine et qui a ensuite attaqué l'Egypte, c'est lui qui menace Damas aujourd'hui, qui menace la Jordanie tous les jours et qui est prêt à attaquer l'Irak et l'Arabie séoudite ainsi que tous les autres pays de la patrie arabe (...)

Il se peut qu'Israël ne commette cette fois-ci aucune agression car ses maîtres, qui le poussent à attaquer et à menacer, ne sont pas prêts à créer un foyer de guerre au Moyen Orient. Mais il n'en demeure pas moins qu'il constitue une menace permanente qui pèse sur la sécurité et la paix car ce pays a été créé dans ce but. Le danger ne saurait donc être écarté par une accalmie. Il ne peut l'être que par l'instauration d'une paix véritable. Aussi faut-il libérer la Palestine et en chasser les commandos d'agression.

En ce moment critique que connaissent nos pays frères de notre patrie arabe, nous tenons à proclamer notre entière solidarité avec toute action positive que pourrait entreprendre un Etat arabe ou un groupe arabe pour écraser l'agresseur et libérer la partie usurpée de la terre de la paix.

Presse arabe

"Al-Alam" (Istiqlal) -- 22 mai 1967

(Editorial)

La position du Maroc face aux événements de la patrie arabe

Il a été décidé que M. Ahmed Balafrej, ministre représentant personnel de S. M. le Roi, se rendrait au Caire pour y rencontrer le président Abdel Nasser, en raison des graves événements qui menacent l'Orient arabe. (...) Il se pourrait que le ministre soit porteur d'un message de solidarité morale avec la R. A. U. à propos des provocations israéliennes auxquelles elle fait fermement face.

Mais nous estimons par trop insuffisante cette discrète solidarité témoignée par le gouvernement marocain aux pays arabes de l'Orient dans un message, verbal ou écrit, confié à un ministre. Nous demandons que le gouvernement tienne tous ses engagements, matériels et moraux, à l'égard de la patrie arabe, engagements que lui impose la charte de solidarité des pays arabes. C'est pourquoi, nous espérons que le gouvernement examinera avec les Etats qui font l'objet des provocations israéliennes, la situation militaire et politique au Moyen-Orient et se conformera aux engagements qu'implique une pareille situation, avec courage et foi.

La provocation israélienne n'est que la conséquence du drame palestinien. Or, notre position est parfaitement claire à ce sujet. Si les pays arabes venaient à engager une bataille quelle qu'elle soit pour libérer la Palestine, ou pour défendre leur sécurité menacée par l'existence d'Israël, nous aurions donc à livrer le combat à leurs côtés, les armes à la main, et non par des paroles.

L'héroïque armée marocaine, dont nous avons admiré la tenue exemplaire lors du dernier défilé, à l'occasion de l'anniversaire de sa création, est une armée nationale puissante, héroïque, courageuse, prête à engager le combat pour défendre la sécurité de la patrie arabe, tout comme elle le ferait pour la patrie marocaine(...).

Nous espérons que les résultats de cette mission seront bien clairs.. Nous aurons ainsi prouvé que notre solidarité avec la patrie arabe est une solidarité concrète et efficace, et que notre éloignement du champ de bataille ne nous empêche pas d'assumer nos responsabilités et de prendre part activement au combat...

Presse arabe

"Al-Alam" (Istiqlal) - 22 mai 1967

Les problèmes essentiels de l'enseignement

1 - L'échec des expériences précédentes exige qu'on en tente une autre

(par un professeur de l'Université)

Le ministère de l'enseignement est sans doute l'un des principaux départements à réunir la technicité et la politique. Ce n'est pas un département exclusivement politique, comme celui des affaires étrangères, de l'intérieur ou du Sahara. Ce n'est pas davantage un ministère purement technique comme celui des travaux publics ou des P. T. T. Mais, à l'instar de l'agriculture, il a à la fois un caractère technique, puisqu'il organise l'enseignement, forme ses cadres, construit ses écoles et procède à son inspection, et un caractère politique puisqu'il adopte la doctrine et établit toute la politique de l'enseignement sur cette base. D'où l'extrême importance de ce ministère dans tous les Etats qui en sont encore à édifier leurs infrastructures. En conséquence, le changement d'un ministre de l'éducation nationale ne peut absolument se faire qu'en fonction à la fois des caractères technique et politique de ce département. Le choix d'un nouveau ministre implique donc le choix d'une nouvelle politique venant se juxtaposer à une technique qui peut tout aussi bien être maintenue que renouvelée. J'irai même jusqu'à dire que dans beaucoup de pays on ne change le ministre de l'enseignement qu'à la condition qu'il y ait une nouvelle politique susceptible d'être adoptée par le gouvernement, étant bien entendu que la continuité est assurée par les cadres techniques et adminitratifs du ministère.

A la lumière de ces données, il nous est possible de nous poser la question de savoir s'il existe en l'occurrence une nouvelle politique que le gouvernement serait prêt à adopter, ou bien si le changement de ministre est consécutif à l'incapacité du précédent titulaire de ce portefeuille à mettre en pratique la politique que le gouvernement a fait sienne le jouroù il l'a annoncée dans sa fameuse doctrine.

Rien n'est susceptible de nous fournir des éléments de réponse à cette

.../.

question, car tout, au Maroc, est soumis à la méthode du pouvoir absolu et au système de l'état d'exception. Ni l'un ni l'autre ne fournit au peuple des informations capables de l'éclairer sur la situation dans laquelle il vit. C'est pourquoi nul parmi nous ,enfants du peuple, ne peut se vanter de savoir pourquoi le ministre de l'enseignement a été remplcé. Je crois même qu'aucun de nos ministres ne serait capable de savoir pourquoi il a été destitué du ministère de l'enseignement par exemple, ou pourquoi il a été investi à la tête de ce département. Nous sommes tous également tenus dans l'ignorance de la vérité. Aucun d'entre nous, pas même l'ancien ministre ou le nouveau, n'est en mesure de répondre à la question que nous venons de poser.

Quoi qu'il en soit, un ministre de l'enseignement ne peut sensément passer la porte du département sans avoir une politique ou une doctrine bien déterminée. Si l'enseignement, chez nous, a tellement souffert, c'est parce que bon nombre de ministres n'ont pas fondé leur action sur une doctrine précise ou une politique opérante, en dépit des efforts du peuple et des gens intéressés par les questions d'enseignement pour les éclairer. Il y a eu, rappelons-le, les commissions nationales, le comité supérieur de l'enseignement, le colloque et les organisations politiques qui ont présenté leurs programmes et exposé leurs doctrines.

Si les ministres n'ont pas su tirer profit de toutes les suggestions qui leur ont été faites, c'est parce qu'ils n'étaient ,pour la plupart, ni techniciens, ni affiliés à un parti. Autrement dit, ils n'étaient pas techniquement engagés pour ce qui est de l'application d'une politique de l'enseignement au Maroc. La technicité exige parfois une doctrine valable, surtout s'il y a corrélation entre la politique de l'enseignement et la politique générale d'édification de l'Etat. Par ailleurs, ces ministres n'étaient pas nationalement et politiquement engagés. Il n'y a pas une seule opinion nationale ou politique adoptée par un parti national ou une organisation politique ou sociale qui n'ait été opposée à la politique de l'enseignement au Maroc, et qui n'ait été déçue par les expériences tentées jusqu'ici par les ministres, surtout par ceux qui professaient des idées rétrogrades.

Cela signifie donc que le ministère se trouve actuellement confronté avec une série d'expériences malheureuses et qu'il est bien forcé, par la nécessité des choses, de les abandonner toutes et d'entreprendre une expérience nouvelle.

A la suite de ces essais avortés il n'a plus devant lui qu'une seule option : celle qui a été définie à l'unanimité par la nation au cours des conférences, des colloques et des assemblées, dans les plans qui ont été présentés au gouvernement. (...)

(à suivre)

London Press Service

Verbatim Service

VERBATIM SERVICE 220/67 TUESDAY 23RD MAY 1967

BRITISH SUBJECTS IN MIDDLE EAST: (F.O. SPOKESMAN)

THE FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE BY THE FOREIGN OFFICE IN LONDON ON MAY 23:-

''BRITISH SUBJECTS IN ISRAEL, THE U.A.R. AND THE WEST BANK OF JORDAN ARE BEING ADVISED THAT IN THE PRESENT SITUATION IT WOULD PROBABLY BE IN THEIR BEST INTEREST TO LEAVE UNLESS THEY HAVE ESSENTIAL OCCUPATIONS WHICH OBLIGE THEM TO REMAIN.

''BRITISH SUBJECTS IN SYRIA, LEBANON, IRAQ AND THE EAST BANK OF JORDAN ARE ADVISED THAT IN VIEW OF THE TENSE SITUATION THEY SHOULD MAKE PREPARATIONS TO LEAVE AT SHORT NOTICE.

''BRITISH SUBJECTS CONSIDERING TRAVELLING TO THE MIDDLE EAST AREA ARE ADVISED THAT UNLESS THEIR JOURNEYS ARE ESSENTIAL, IT WOULD BE WISE TO POSTPONE THEM''.

END VS 220/67 L P S

London Press Service

Verbatim Service

VERBATIM SERVICE NO.223/67. WEDNESDAY 24TH MAY 1967.

MIDDLE EAST : LORD CARADON AT U.N.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SPEECH BY LORD CARADON IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL THIS AFTERNOON, MAY 24 ON THE MIDDLE EAST.

I WISH TO SPEAK VERY SHORTLY TODAY, AND I SHALL ASK YOUR PERMISSION TO SPEAK AGAIN MORE FULLY AS THE DEBATE PROCEEDS.

I SHOULD SAY STRAIGHT AWAY THAT MY GOVERNMENT WELCOMED AND SUPPORTED THE REQUEST PUT FORWARD BY CANADA AND DENMARK FOR AN URGENT MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

NO ONE WHO HAS FOLLOWED THE EVENTS OF THE PAST TEN DAYS COULD POSSIBLY DOUBT THE DANGER, AND NO ONE COULD DOUBT THE URGENCY. BOTH THE DANGER AND THE URGENCY WERE MADE VERY CLEAR IN THE REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO THE ASSEMBLY AND TO THIS COUNCIL. THEY HAVE CERTAINLY BEEN MADE GRAVER STILL BY SUBSEQUENT EVENTS. AT SUCH A TIME THIS COUNCIL MUST IMMEDIATELY ACCEPT ITS RESPONSIBILITY AND SHOW AT ONCE THAT IT IS DETERMINED TO DISCHARGE IT. IT IS A RESPONSIBILITY DENIED BY NONE. WHENEVER THERE IS DANGER OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT NONE OF US QUESTION THAT THE COUNCIL HAS A DUTY TO TAKE HOLD OF THE SITUATION, TO MEET WITHOUT DELAY, AND ALWAYS TO BE READY TO TAKE ACTION. WE RIGHTLY PRIDE OURSELVES ON BEING ABLE TO MEET AT THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE NOTICE, AND IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE CIRCUMSTANCES MORE URGENT AND MORE MENACING, AS THE SECRETARY GENERAL HAS FORCEFULLY REMINDED US, THAN THOSE WHICH NOW DEMAND OUR INSTANT ATTENTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IF I MAY SAY SO, MR PRESIDENT, WE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL ALL HAVE AN INESCAPABLE OBLIGATION.

MOREOVER, THE SECRETARY GENERAL IS TODAY ENGAGED IN VITAL DISCUSSIONS IN CAIRO. WE WELCOMED AND IMMEDIATELY SUPPORTED HIS DECISION TO MAKE THIS EFFORT TO KEEP THE PEACE AND TO REDUCE TENSIONS AND TO SEARCH FOR MEASURES WHICH CAN PREVENT CONFLICT IN FUTURE.

THE FIRST AIM WHICH HE AND WE MUST SET IS TO COUNSEL RESTRAINT AND TO KEEP THE PEACE SO THAT TIME CAN BE PROVIDED FOR NEW PLANS TO BE WORKED OUT FOR THE FUTURE IT IS WELL THAT AS HE PURSUES HIS MISSION HE SHOULD KNOW THAT HE CAN RELY ON OUR SUPPORT.

ONCE THAT FIRST TASK OF HOLDING THE SITUATION AND PREVENTING CONFLICT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED THERE WILL BE MANY PURPOSES TO BE PURSUED - AMONGST THEM REDUCTION OF CONFRONTING FORCES AND ESTABLISHMENT OF CONTINUING EFFECTIVE UNITED NATIONS MEASURES WHAT HAS BEEN DONE IN THE PAST BY THE UNEF AND THE MIXED ARMISTICE COMMISSION AND UNTSO HAS BEEN PROVED TO BE SALUTARY AND EFFECTIVE AND ESSENTIAL, AND WE HAVE PAID TRIBUTE TO ALL THOSE WHO HAVE TAKEN PART IN THESE SUCCESSFUL PEACEKEEPING ENDEAVOURS. MY GOVERNMENT WOULD PREFER TO SEE THE EARLIEST RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KIND OF UNITED NATIONS OPERATION WHICH SO SUCCESSFULLY OPERATED IN SINAI AND GAZA, BUT THEY ALSO BELIEVE THAT ALTERNATIVE MEANS COULD BE EFFECTIVE. IT IS TO THIS QUESTION THAT WE SHOULD DIRECT OUR URGENT ATTENTION.

IN ADDITION THERE IS ONE MOST URGENT AND MOST DANGEROUS ISSUE OF ALL - THE QUESTION OF RIGHT OF PASSAGE FOR SHIPPING OF ALL NATIONALITIES THROUGH THE STRAITS OF TIRAN. THE MAINTENANCE OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE GENEVA CONVENTION ON THE TERRITORIAL SEA DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL NAVIGATION BETWEEN THE HIGH SEAS AND TERRITORIAL WATERS IS OF THE GRAVEST CONCERN TO MY GOVERNMENT, AS IT MUST BE TO ALL ENGAGED IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE. ON THIS SUBJECT MY PRIME MINISTER MADE AN IMPORTANT STATEMENT TODAY IN WHICH HE REAFFIRMED WHAT WAS SAID BY A REPRESENTATIVE OF MY GOVERNMENT IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TEN YEARS AGO, ''IT IS THE VIEW OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM THAT THE STRAITS OF TIRAN MUST BE REGARDED AS AN INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY THROUGH WHICH THE VESSELS OF ALL NATIONS HAVE A RIGHT OF PASSAGE.''
THESE THEN ARE THE QUESTIONS WE HAVE TO TACKLE TOGETHER

FIRST, HOW CAN TENSION BE RELIEVED AND IMMEDIATE DANGERS OF CONFLICT REMOVED.

SECOND, HOW CAN THE RIGHTS OF FREE AND UNIMPEDED PASSAGE THROUGH THE STRAIGHTS OF TIRAN BE GUARANTEED AND ASSURED.

THIRD, HOW CAN EFFECTIVE UNITED NATIONS MEASURES AND MACHINERY TO KEEP THE PEACE AND PREVENT VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE AREA BEST BE WORKED OUT FOR THE FUTURE.

FOURTH, WHAT NEW MEASURES AND ADDITIONAL ACTION CAN BE TAKEN TO PREVENT SUCH DANGERS TO THE PEACE RECURRING IN FUTURE YEARS.

THESE ARE ALL MATTERS WHICH WE WILL DISCUSS AS WE PROCEED WITH OUR DEBATE. I DO NOT WISH OR NEED TO DISCUSS OR DEBATE THEM IMMEDIATELY. FOR THE PRESENT I WISH ONLY TO REPEAT THAT TO DEAL WITH THESE PROBLEMS WE SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, WE WELCOME THE CALLING OF THE COUNCIL TO REINFORCE HIS EFFORTS, AND WE UNDERTAKE TO TAKE A FULL PART IN THE URGENT TASK ON WHICH THE COUNCIL IS NOW ENGAGED.

NEVER HAS THE UNITED NATIONS FACED A GREATER CHALLENGE OR A GREATER OPPORTUNITY. WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY NOW IF WE WORK TOGETHER IN UNDERSTANDING AND IN GOOD FAITH NOT ONLY TO LIFT THE THREAT OF CONFLICT FROM THE MIDDLE EAST BUT TO RESTORE THE TRUST PLACED IN THE UNITED NATIONS AS AN EFFECTIVE FORCE FOR KEEPING THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

ENDS V.S.223/67. L.P.S.

H.E.

REVIEW OF THE PRESS.

1076

British Embassy, Rabat,
May 24th 1967.

Al Alam (Istiqlal) No. 6210 of 24/5/1967.

A. Main News Items.

1. Events are developing fast following U.A.R.'s decision to ban the Israeli use of the Tiran Strait leading to the Aqaba, now that the U.A.R. has become master of the situation following the withdrawal of U.N.O. forces. Western States are having consultations for the revival of the Tripartite Declaration of 1950. When cornered in such a manner, Israel might be forced to launch the offensive she had been planning.

2. Reproduces Mr. George Brown's statements about the situation and freedom of international navigation through the Aqaba decided in 1950, Mr. MacMillan's declaration in 1963 that U.N.O. was responsible for the protection of peace in the Middle East and Mr. Wilson's support of this statement at the time.

3. Beirut; M.A.P. A well informed source in Beirut declared that there might be a worthwhile reduction of the quantity of Arab petrol sent to West Europe in case of an armed conflict in the Middle East.

B. Special News Items.

1. A Spanish patrol accosted a group of inhabitants who had tried to leave Saqiet el Hamra for Tarfaya in the liberated part of Morocco.

2. Upon the deterioration of relations between Syria and Jordan as a result of an explosion near the borders between the two countries, the Jordanian Government asked the Syrian Ambassador in Amman and the Syrian Vice-Consul in Jerusalem to leave the country.

3. Istiqlali branches met to study the situation in the Arab world. They expressed support for U.A.R.'s decision and Al Alam's editorials and readiness to participate in the unified Arab action for the rescue of Palestine.

4. London; M.A.P. The British Government protested against the closing down of the British Diplomatic Mission in Shanghai.

5. London; M.A.P. Britain has expressed disapproval to the U.N.O. Special Committee on Colonialism of the despatch of a commission to Africa and the Middle East, in which she decided not to participate. She objects to a discussion of the Aden problem in Syria and Iraq, as the Committee proposes to do.

6. An official Soviet delegation consisting of workers, students and engineers will arrive in Meknes where the Department of Youth and Sports has prepared a programme for their reception.

C. Comment.

1. On the occasion of Africa's Independence Day tomorrow, hopes that all parts of Africa will be freed.

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LE PETIT MAROCAIN - WEDNESDAY 24 MAY

Message de SM le roi remis par M. Balafrej au président Nasser

RABAT, 23 mai (MAP). — « S.M. le Roi, très préoccupé par la situation au Moyen-Orient, m'a chargé de me rendre au Caire porteur d'un message personnel au président Jamal Abdel Nasser, a déclaré ce matin à son départ de l'aéroport de Rabat-Salé M. Hadj Ahmed Balafrej, ministre représentant personnel du Souverain.

« Devant l'agression sioniste contre les pays arabes, S.M. le Roi m'a chargé, a ajouté M. Balafrej, de me rendre auprès du président de la RAU et du secrétaire général de la Ligue arabe, dont le Maroc est membre, pour prendre des informations directes et proclamer la solidarité effective du Maroc avec les Etats arabes frères ».

M. Balafrej a tenu d'autre part à préciser que sa mission ne l'amènerait dans aucune autre capitale arabe.

Il a été salué à son départ par MM. Hassan Fanmi Abdelmagid, ambassadeur de la République Arabe Unie, le gouverneur de la Préfecture de Rabat-Salé le Dr M'Hamed Banbouchaib et son premier khalifa, Hadj Mohamed Zebdi, Abderrahim Harakat, ambassadeur directeur de la division presse et information au ministère des Affaires étrangères, Bennani Smires, directeur de la division protocole au même département, ainsi que par ses proches collaborateurs.

Silence SM le Roi Hadj Ahmed Balafrej part

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PRODROME RABAT

CENTROFORM LDN

also to all Arab missions except those with which we have no relations (UAR + Algeria) Comp H.

? Release to Groups A, B + 1076.
D. orders correction received.
24/5 24/5
done MM 25/5

VERBATIM SERVICE 222/67 WEDNESDAY 24TH MAY 1967

MIDDLE EAST : PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT ON GULF OF AQABA

FOLLOWING IS EXTRACT FROM SPEECH BY PRIME MINISTER WILSON AT THE ELECTRICAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCE, IN MARGATE ON WEDNESDAY 24 MAY.

IT WOULD BE WRONG IF I WERE NOT TO SAY SOMETHING ABOUT THE VERY GRAVE SITUATION CONFRONTING THE WORLD IN THE MIDDLE EAST AT THE PRESENT TIME. IN THE PAST TEN DAYS WE HAVE SEEN THIS SITUATION DEVELOP WITH ALARMING AND ALMOST INEXORABLE RAPIDITY, AND AS IT DEVELOPED PRESENTING A NEW DANGER TO PEACE - OR, AS SOME WOULD SAY, AN OLD AND FESTERING DANGER BREAKING OUT AGAIN.

HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT ARE PLAYING AND WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY THEIR FULL PART WITH EVERY OTHER COUNTRY WHICH IS ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE SEARCH FOR PEACE. RIGHTLY OUR APPROACH HAS BEEN AND IS TO SEEK THE MEANS TO PEACE THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION.

I AM GLAD TO SEE THAT THIS IS NOT A MATTER OF CONTROVERSY WITHIN OUR OWN COUNTRY. YESTERDAY AFTERNOON I SAW A SUGGESTION THAT WE SHOULD TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN CALLING FOR A MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. IN FACT YESTERDAY MORNING LORD CARADON, OUR REPRESENTATIVE AT THE UNITED NATIONS - AND A FULL MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT - ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE FOREIGN SECRETARY AND MYSELF SOUGHT TO HAVE A MEETING CALLED IMMEDIATELY, YESTERDAY, TO DEAL WITH THE VERY CRITICAL SITUATION WHICH HAD ARISEN OVERNIGHT.
I AM GLAD TO SAY THAT, AS YOU WILL HAVE HEARD, THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL IN FACT BE MEETING WITHIN A FEW HOURS IN EMERGENCY SESSION.

◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇

IT WILL BE OUR AIM BOTH AT THIS MEETING AND MORE GENERALLY TO CONTINUE TO URGE THE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT AND PATIENCE ON THE PART OF ALL THOSE WHOSE ARMIES ARE RANGED AGAINST ONE ANOTHER IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE FOREIGN SECRETARY IS IN MOSCOW FOR IMPORTANT DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT COVERING A WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES - VIETNAM, EUROPEAN SECURITY, ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS - AND HIGH ON HIS AGENDA TODAY WILL BE THE NEW DANGER IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HE WILL BE URGING ON THE SOVIET UNION THE NEED ON THEIR PART TO DO EVERYTHING IN THEIR POWER TO ENCOURAGE RESTRAINT AND A LOWERING OF TEMPERATURE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

WE SHALL CONTINUE TO URGE THAT EVERYTHING POSSIBLE IS DONE BY THE UNITED NATIONS. WE GREATLY REGRETTED THE DISAPPEARANCE LAST WEEK, INDEED ALMOST OVERNIGHT, OF THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE, AN INSTRUMENT OF PEACE-KEEPING MACHINERY WHICH HAS PLAYED A MOST VALUABLE - INDEED A DECISIVE - PART IN ITS TEN YEARS OF EXISTENCE IN KEEPING TENSION DOWN. WE PLAYED OUR FULL PART LAST WEEK IN EVERY WAY OPEN TO US TO URGE THAT THIS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE SHOULD NOT BE DISMANTLED. BUT THE DECISION WAS TAKEN, AND NEW DANGERS INEXORABLY FOLLOWED.

IT IS OUR HOPE THAT AS A RESULT OF THE EFFORTS OF U THANT IN CAIRO AND THE WORK OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL THAT WE SHALL SEE THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT, IF NOT OF THE U.N.E.F. ITSELF, THEN OF SOME OTHER FORM OF UNITED NATIONS PRESENCE WHICH WILL BE ABLE TO DISCHARGE THE ROLE WHICH FOR TEN YEARS WAS SO SUCCESSFULLY UNDERTAKEN. WE SHALL ALSO BE WORKING WITH OTHERS FOR AN AGREEMENT TO REDUCE FORCES ON BOTH SIDES AS ONE MEANS OF REDUCING THE TEMPERATURE. BUT GRAVE THOUGH THE DANGER IS OVER THE WHOLE FRONT, THERE IS ONE AREA WHERE RECENT ACTIONS HAVE BROUGHT THE SITUATION ALMOST TO FLASH POINT. A DETACHMENT OF U.N.E.F. WAS, UNTIL LAST WEEK, STATIONED ON THE SOUTHERN TIP OF THE SINAI PENINSULAR OVERLOOKING THE NARROW STRAITS, THE STRAITS OF TIRAN, LENDING FROM THE RED SEA TO THE GULF OF AQABA.

Cen regts.

TELEX ◇ SERVICE

IT WAS THE NEUTRALISATION OF THIS AREA, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS FORCE THAT FORMED AN ESSENTIAL PART IN THE ARRANGEMENT WHICH RESULTED IN THE EVACUATION OF THIS AREA BY ISRAELI FORCES TEN YEARS AGO. I SHOULD LIKE TO REPEAT WHAT WAS THEN SAID ON BEHALF OF THIS COUNTRY BY THE THEN BRITISH DELEGATE TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

''IT IS THE VIEW OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM THAT THE STRAITS OF TIRAN MUST BE REGARDED AS AN INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY THROUGH WHICH THE VESSELS OF ALL NATIONS HAVE A RIGHT OF PASSAGE. HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT WILL ASSERT THIS RIGHT ON BEHALF OF ALL BRITISH SHIPPING AND IS PREPARED TO JOIN WITH OTHERS TO SECURE GENERAL RECOGNITION OF THIS RIGHT.''

HIS WORDS WERE ECHOED BY OTHER DELEGATES REPRESENTING SUBSTANTIAL MARITIME NATIONS. THE DECLARATION THEN MADE TEN YEARS ago

~~IT~~ REMAINS THE VIEW AND THE POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT AND WE SHALL PROMOTE AND SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO UPHOLD THIS RIGHT OF FREE PASSAGE.

TO THIS END MR. GEORGE THOMSON, THE MINISTER OF STATE AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE, FLEW LAST NIGHT TO WASHINGTON TO DISCUSS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT - AND SUBSEQUENTLY HE WILL FLY TO NEW YORK TO ASSIST LORD CARADON WITH SIMILAR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS - THE PRACTICAL STEPS THAT NOW NEED TO BE TAKEN.

ENDS VS22/67. LPS.

1445
CENTROFORM LDN
PRODROME RABAT

SERVICE TELEX ◇

(1076/67) **TELEGRAM**

Cypher

~~CODE~~

~~XXXX~~

From:— RABAT *To:—* FOREIGN OFFICE

Despatched Received

No. 152 of 24 May, 1967.

PRIORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 152 of 24 May. Repeated for information to Cairo, Amman, Jedda, Damascus, Tel Aviv, Beirut, and Saving to Tripoli, Benghazi, Tunis, Algiers.

Middle East Situation.

Moroccan Government have so far issued no statement on the situation.

2. M. Balafrej, Personal Representative of King Hassan, left for Cairo on 23 May with personal message for President Nasser. He stated on departure that he would also call on Secretary-General of Arab League and that his mission was to obtain first hand information and express "effective solidarity" of Morocco with brother Arab states. He does not (repeat not) intend to visit other Arab capitals.

3. I am informed privately that he will explain that since Morocco has no relations with Syria and has her own problems with Algeria and Spain she cannot provide troops.

4. The Istiqlal press has called on Government to offer armed support for the Arab cause, but the official press and radio have refrained from comment and confined themselves to factual reports.

HOLLIDAY

(3317) A.O.S.

1076

p.w. yesterday's tel'n on the middle East situation.

L'OPINION - WEDNESDAY 24 MAY

L'ISOLEMENT

SI dans la situation intérieure du pays, les responsables ont joué aux apprentis sorciers et n'ont récolté que des échecs répétés marqués par la situation catastrophique de l'artisanat, l'abandon des objectifs du Plan triennal malgré leur modestie, les nombreuses grèves dans les secteurs-clés tels que le port de Casablanca et le complexe de Safi, la confusion totale dans l'enseignement, le refus du capital étranger d'investir au Maroc — et la liste s'allonge tous les jours — la situation du pays sur le plan international est au moins aussi grave car l'isolement de notre pays se trouve depuis quelque temps déjà être une triste réalité.

Le fait qu'à chaque mouvement ministériel ou presque le ministère des Affaires étrangères change de titulaire, prouve que nous ne connaissons pas de stabilité en matière de politique étrangère. Cela prouve aussi que l'improvisation ne mène à rien de positif et que le crédit dont jouissait le Maroc auprès des instances internationales se perd peu à peu et l'on arrive actuellement à ne plus y tenir notre rôle efficacement.

Les échecs essuyés en politique étrangère par les responsables actuels du pays ne se comptent plus, à tel point que nous nous sommes isolés de tous. Vis-à-vis de nos frères du Maghreb et particulièrement à l'égard de l'Algérie, nos échecs sont lamentables. Nous avons été à chaque fois « le dindon de la farce » par la faute des dirigeants actuels. Depuis quatre ans déjà que le conflit frontalier maroco-algérien s'éternise. Aucune solution n'est en vue. Si les Algériens refusent encore tout compromis, c'est qu'ils voient les Marocains mener leur affaire sans conviction ni compétence.

L'Espagne ne nous ménage aucune humiliation. Non seulement elle tire gloire de sa présence dans nos provinces du Sud, mais de plus s'allie à l'Algérie et à l'Etat fantoche de Mauritanie pour s'opposer à la récupération de nos terres spoliées.

La France a rappelé son ambassadeur depuis 1965 et refuse de contribuer à l'aide du Maroc. Le contentieux maroco-français est trop grave pour laisser uniquement au temps le soin de le résoudre. Pourtant, c'est ce qui ressort de l'attitude de nos responsables dans ce domaine.

Même les U.S.A., dont on vante dans les cercles officiels l'amitié solide, refuse courtoisement mais fermement d'accéder aux désirs de nos dirigeants actuels. Pourtant, le Maroc n'a pas condamné explicitement et formellement la guerre du Vietnam et ce pour s'attirer les bonnes graces des U.S.A.

On oublie peut être que les ambassadeurs étrangers accrédités à Rabat connaissent bien la situation au Maroc et les rapports qu'ils envoient à leurs gouvernements respectifs ne doivent pas manquer de signaler la gravité de la situation marocaine et l'entêtement des responsables de continuer dans la voie sans issue dans laquelle le Pouvoir s'est engagé.

Il faut croire qu'il n'y a pas d'autre raison à cet isolement dont souffre le Maroc que le fait de refuser au peuple de gérer ses propres affaires et d'ériger l'improvisation en système. Il n'est pas jusqu'au brûlant problème du Moyen-Orient qui ne laisse notre gouvernement sans réaction. Le ministère de l'Information n'en souffle mot, les commentaires de la radio et de la télévision, si prolixes sur d'autres sujets, sont muets sur cette question. Si ce n'était l'envoi du représentant personnel de S.M. le Roi en République Arabe Unie, on croirait que le problème palestinien malgré le danger réel qu'il représente, est un problème étranger au même titre que celui du Nepal ou du Burundi.

Où que le Maroc se tourne, il trouve ses alliés naturels en train de l'abandonner. Il nous reste bien sûr à nous intéresser uniquement à de nouvelles amitiés, mais les intérêts en présence sont trop importants pour se détourner définitivement de nos voisins ou de pratiquer la politique de l'autruche à l'égard de nos partenaires.

L'OPINION

Presse arabe

"Al-An'bâ "(officieux) - 25 mai 1967

(Manchette sur 8 colonnes)

La crise, au Moyen-Orient, s'aggrave d'heure en heure

L'Amérique et la Grande-Bretagne tiennent à lever le blocus du golfe d'Akaba

L'avertissement soviétique renforce la position des Etats arabes

Extension du mouvement de solidarité arabe pour faire face à toute agression contre les Etats arabes

(De notre rédaction)

M. Ahmed Balafrej, ministre représentant personnel de S.M. le roi, est arrivé hier au Caire pour remplir la mission dont l'a chargé Sa Majesté auprès du président Gamal Abdel-Nasser, et pour assurer le secrétaire général de la Ligue arabe de la solidarité du Maroc avec les pays arabes frères dans leur attitude énergique face aux menaces sionistes et dans la défense des droits des Arabes de Palestine.

A l'aéroport du Caire, M. Ahmed Balafrej a déclaré qu'il était porteur d'un message personnel de S.M. le roi au président Gamal Abdel-Nasser.

Le président Abdel-Nasser devait recevoir l'émissaire de S.M. le roi hier à une heure avancée de la nuit.

L'arrivée au Caire du représentant personnel de S.M. le roi, chargé d'une mission par notre vénéré souverain, dans une atmosphère extrêmement tendue par suite des menaces israéliennes, montre que la volonté du Maroc, roi et peuple, et leur attitude résolue sont commandées par les sentiments de solidarité arabe. Elle prouve que le Maroc a foi en la justesse d'une cause qui met en jeu l'avenir des Arabes et qui polarise l'opinion publique arabe sur le plan de la lutte qu'ils mènent inlassablement pour affacer la honte de la défaite, pour restaurer le droit sur la terre arabe de Palestine et pour extiper une agression qui s'exerce depuis 19 ans sur notre peuple arabe de Palestine.

.../

La volonté du Maroc, roi et peuple, d'aller jusqu'au terme de la bataille de la libération de la Palestine est une volonté qui est soutenue par sa foi en l'issue de cette bataille.

La position du Maroc sur l'affaire palestinienne est connue de tous. Elle se fonde sur les principes immuables de la défense des droits des Arabes, de l'anéantissement de l'agression sioniste et de la nécessité pour les Arabes de se dresser comme un seul homme afin de libérer une terre arabe spoliée.

Le Maroc suit avec une attention soutenue le déroulement des événements dans la zone de l'Orient arabe.

Le Maroc sait parfaitement que ce qui se passe actuellement n'est que la conséquence logique d'une agression qui se prolonge et qui est matérialisée par la présence des bandes sionistes sur le sol de la Palestine.

Ce qui se passe à l'heure actuelle prouve également, et à nouveau, que la solidarité arabe, cette solidarité effective qui transcende toutes les dissensions et toutes les rancunes, est l'unique force dont les Arabes puissent se prévaloir dans la bataille d'aujourd'hui et de demain.

Ce qui se passe maintenant, à cause des harcèlements israëliens et des menaces des bandes sionistes, pose à nouveau et d'une manière brutale et impérieuse la question de la solidarité arabe en tant que nécessité urgente, solidarité à laquelle les peuples et les gouvernements arabes doivent obligatoirement avoir recours pour faire face aux éventualités d'aujourd'hui et de demain.

Ce qui se passe en ce moment, dix ans après les événements de Suez, prouve que le Moyen-Orient ne pourra connaître la stabilité et la tranquillité tant que les bandes d'Israël se livreront à leurs incursions et à leurs violences, et aussi longtemps que cet "Etat" monstre subsistera dans cette partie du territoire arabe.

Israël est une menace constante et directe pour la sécurité et la paix au Moyen-Orient et dans le monde, mais le mythe de la survivance d'Israël est aussi inconsistant que le rêve d'une nuit d'été.

1076.

INWARD TELEGRAM

Clair
Code — Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cy CAT "A"

[Distribution Heading]

FROM F.O. TO RABAT

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. GUIDANCE 115

[Date] 25 MAY 1967

D M

R M

Repeated to

[Priority] IMMEDIATE

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H.E. 26/5

CONFIDENTIAL.

ADDRESSED TO CERTAIN MISSIONS TELEGRAM NUMBER

GUIDANCE 115 OF 25 MAY.

MIDDLE EAST SITUATION.

1076

YOU WILL HAVE SEEN VERBATIM NUMBER 222 GIVING EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER ON 24 MAY. YOU MAY ALSO DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING BACKGROUND INFORMATION IN DISCUSSING THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. SD/H. TRIPARTITE DECLARATION 1950.

2. [ALTHOUGH, PARTLY IN DEFERENCE TO AMERICAN WISHES,] HER MAJESTY~S GOVERNMENT HAVE [AVOIDED SAYING PUBLICLY THAT THE DECLARATION WAS DEAD, THEY HAVE] REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR THAT IN THEIR VIEW IT HAS BEEN SUPERSEDED BY MR. MACMILLAN~S STATEMENT OF 14 MAY, 1963. AS SUBSEQUENTLY RE-AFFIRMED]

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ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

RE-AFFIRMED IN PARLIAMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE FOREIGN SECRETARY IN 1965 AND 1966 (SEE PARAGRAPH 3 OF GUIDANCE NUMBER 111). ~~Statements announced the view that the primary responsibility for maintaining the peace in the area lay with the United Nations.~~

3. IN THE TRIPARTITE DECLARATION THE THREE GOVERNMENTS STATED THEIR INTENTIONS

(A) ABOUT THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO THE MIDDLE EAST.

AND

(B) IN THE EVENT OF ATTEMPTS TO VIOLATE THE FRONTIERS OR ARMISTICE LINES IN THE AREA.

AT THAT TIME THERE WERE BRITISH FORCES IN EGYPT, JORDAN AND [redacted]. THE LATER STATEMENTS EMPHASISE HER MAJESTY~S GOVERNMENT~S VIEW THAT THE UNITED NATIONS IS PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IN THE AREA. [THEY DO NOT INCLUDE ANY SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE POSSIBILITY OF ACTION OUTSIDE THE UNITED NATIONS. AS THE TRIPARTITE DECLARATION DID]. SP/H THE ARAB/ISRAEL DISPUTE.

4. WE WISH TO RETAIN FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH BOTH SIDES IN THIS DISPUTE AND IN ALL OTHER DISPUTES AND RIVALRIES IN THE AREA. WE DEPLORE THE RESORT/

THE RESORT TO FORCE BY EITHER SIDE TO SETTLE DISPUTES. HER MAJESTY~S GOVERNMENT HAVE A DEEP INTEREST IN THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE AREA AND SUPPORT THE UNITED NATIONS MACHINERY ESTABLISHED TO WORK TOWARDS THIS END. SP/H THE GULF OF AQABA.

5. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS STATED H.M.G.~S CURRENT POSITION ON NAVIGATION THROUGH THE STRAITS OF TIRAN AND IN THE GULF OF AQABA IN A SPEECH AT MARGATE ON 24 MAY [(VERBATIM NUMBER 222). THE FOLLOWING BACKGROUND ON THE LEGAL ISSUES MAY BE USEFUL TO YOU IN EXPLAINING H.M.G.~S POLICY.]

In the view of H.M. Govt,

6. [THE STRAITS OF TIRAN ARE AN INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY THROUGH WHICH SHIPS OF ALL NATIONS, INCLUDING ISRAEL, HAVE THE RIGHT TO INNOCENT PASSAGE.

7. THE U.A.R. AND SAUDI ARABIA CLAIM TERRITORIAL SEA EXTENDING TO TWELVE MILES. H.M.G. DO NOT RECOGNISE THIS. BUT EVEN WERE IT RECOGNISED, THERE WOULD STILL BE A RIGHT OF INNOCENT PASSAGE. BECAUSE THE STRAITS ARE USED FOR INTERNATIONAL NAVIGATION BETWEEN THE HIGH SEAS AND THE TERRITORIAL WATERS OF ISRAEL AND JORDAN (AS

WELL

WELL AS SAUDI ARABIA AND THE U.A.R.). ARTICLE 16 OF THE 1958 GENEVA CONVENTION ON THE TERRITORIAL SEA REFERS.

8. THE U.A.R. CLAIMS TO BE IN A STATE OF WAR WITH ISRAEL AND THEREFORE TO EXERCISE BELLIGERENT RIGHTS. H.M.G. DO NOT RECOGNISE THAT A STATE OF WAR EXISTS. IN THIS CONNEXION SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION NUMBER 95 OF 1 SEPTEMBER, 1951, IS RELEVANT, PARTICUL- ARLY THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH:- QUOTE. "..SINCE THE ARMISTICE REGIME, WHICH HAS BEEN IN EXISTENCE FOR NEARLY TWO AND A HALF YEARS, IS OF A PERMANENT CHARACTER, NEITHER PARTY CAN REASONABLY ASSERT THAT IT IS ACTIVELY A BELLIG- ERENT OR REQUIRES TO EXERCISE THE RIGHT OF VISIT, SEARCH AND SEIZURE FOR ANY LEGITIMATE PURPOSE OF SELF-DEFENCE". UNQUOTE.

9. H.M.G.~S VIEW IS THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED BY THIS CONSIDERATION, AND SHOULD HOLD RESPONSIBLE ANY STATE WHICH COMMITS A BREACH OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. SUEZ

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cy CAT A"

[Distribution Heading]

FROM

TO

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. GUIDANCE 116

D M

[Date] 25 MAY 1967

R M

Repeated to

[Priority]

CONFIDENTIAL.

ADDRESSED TO CERTAIN MISSIONS TELEGRAM NUMBER . GUIDANCE 116 OF 25 MAY.

MIDDLE EAST SITUATION.

AFTER THE ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE ISRAEL AND SYRIAN AIR FORCES ON 4~~£~~. APRIL ~~1967~~. THERE CONTINUED TO BE INCIDENTS INSIDE ISRAEL CAUSED BY TERRORISTS COMING FROM SYRIA. WARNINGS BY ISRAEL LEADERS THAT THERE WOULD BE MORE SEVERE REPRISALS IF THIS CONTINUED APPEAR TO HAVE LED TO THE BELIEF IN SYRIA AND THE U.A.R.. PERHAPS DELIBERATELY FOSTERED BY THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT. THAT ISRAEL WOULD MOUNT A LARGE SCALE ATTACK ON SYRIA.

2. THE U.A.R. GOVE~~HQ~~ERNMENT HAS IN RECENT YEARS BEEN EXTREMELY CAUTIOUS ABSOUT GETTING INVOLVED

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WITH/

WITH ISRAEL AND HAS GIVEN ONLY PROPAGANDA SUPPORT WHEN ISRAEL HAS CARRIED OUT REPRISAL ATTACKS ON SYRIA. ON THIS OCCASION. THE U.A.R. GOVERNMENT EVIDENTLY DECIDED NOT TO FOLLOW THIS POLICY IN THE EVENT OV ANOTHER ATTACK ON SYRIA. AND PROCEEDED TO TAKE LARGE AND OSTENTATIOUS MILITARY PRECAUTIONS. BRINGING ITS FORCES IN SINAI NEAR THE ISRAEL FRONTIER UP TO 4 DIVISIONS. INCLUDING SOME 600 TANKS.

3. ~~AS~~ UP TO THIS STAGE U.A.R. ACTION COULD SIMPLY HAVE BEEN INTENDED TO DETER THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT AND GET A PRESTIGE VICTORY OUT OF BEING SEEN TO DO SO. ON 16 MAY. HOWEVER. THE U.A.R. GOVERNMENT DEMANDED THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE (UNEF) WHICH WAS SET UP AT THE END OF 1956 TO SUPERVISE .WITHDRAWAL OF ANGLO/FRENCH AND ISRAEL FORCES FROM EGYPTIAN TERRITORY AND WHICH HAS REMAINED ON THE ISRAEL FRONTIER EVER SINCE TO ACT AS A BUFFER BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. ON THE EGYPTIAN SIDE OF THE FRONTIER. (THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT REFUSED TO HAVE THE FORCE STATIONED IN ITS TERRITORY.)

4. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS. IN OUR VIEW PRECIPITATELY. ACCEPTED THE DEMAND FOR THE WITHDRAWAL ~~[illegible]~~ OF THE/

2

.BSG CSCIDXGTAEZSYQ OR THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE FORCE. THIS CREATED FOUR DANGERS OF A SERIOUS CLASSE (A) THAT THE SYRIANS. NOW CONFIDENT (Q MJLDE WC) OF EGYPTIAN SUPPORT. MIGHT BE MORE AGGRESSIVE IN SUPPORTING TERRORIST ACTIVITIES: (SLI) :

(B) THAT THE INFILTRATION OF TERRORISTS WOULD NOW START FROM THE GAZA STRIP WHERE THERE ARE TWO BRIGADES OF THE SO CALLED (QUOTE) "PALESTINE LIBERATION ARMY" (UNQUOTE):

(C) THAT SOME SPARK WOULD CAUSE AN EXPLOSION BETWEEN THE LARGE EGYPTIAN FORCE IN SINAI AND THE ISRAEL FORCES WHICH HAD BEEN MOBILISED TO FACE IT:

(D) THAT THE EGYPTIANS. HAVING SECURED THE REMOVAL OF THE UNEF DETACHMENT FROM THE SHORE OF THE STRAITS OF TIRAN. / WOULD INTERFERE ~~297 15 8 53 4 343~~ WITH SHIPPING PA ~~—~~ / PASSING THROUGH THE STRAITS TO ELATH IN ISRAEL OR AQABA IN JORDAN.

IT IS THE LAST DANGER WHICH HAS MATERIALISED AND CREATED/

CREATED THE PRESENT CRITICAL SITUATION.

5. IT IS H.M.G.~S POLICY TO AVOID TAKING SIDES IN THIS DISPUTE OR PASSING JUDGMENTS. UNLIKE THE RUSSIANS. WHO HAVE FOR MANY YEARS BEEN OPENLY PARTISAN. ~~WEJGXSZRDXEZVT XSFSCBH JOSAN~~ WE ARE EQUALLY INTERESTED IN PEACE AND SECURITY FOR ALL COUNTRIES IN THE AREA. WHATEVER THE ORIGINS OF THE EGYPTIAN ACTION. THE SERIOUS ESCALATION RESULTS DIRECTLY FROM THE ARBITRARY REMOVAL OF A LONG-ESTABLISHED AND SUCCESSFUL PEACEKEEPING FORCE AND A REVERSAL OF THE ~~SI~~POSITION IN THE GULF OF AQABA WHICH HAS EXISTED FOR THE PAST 10 YEARS. THESE TWO DEVELOPMENTS SUGGEST THE POSSIBILITY THAT. SO FAR FROM MERELY REACTING TO EVENTS. THE U.A.R. MOVES WERE PLANNED IN ADVANCE AND HAD AN ASSURANCE ~~OI YEANCE~~ OF RUSSIAN ACQUIESCENCE. AT THE VERY LEAST THE RUSSIANS HAVE. BY COMING OUT WITH AN UNCOMPROMISING PUBLIC STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR THE U.A.R.. ENDANG- ERED THE PROSPECT OF A PEACEFUL OUTCOME.

6. ALL ARAB GOVERNMENTS ARE LIKELY TO SUPPORT THE U.A.R. GOVERN- MENT~S VIEW THAT THEY ARE ENTITLED TO CLOSE THE STRAITS OF TIRAN TO

ISRAEL

ISRAEL SHIPPING AND THEY WILL ACCUSE THOSE WHO OBJECT OF SUPPORTING ISRAEL. THE OBJECTION IS, IN FACT, BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE WIDER INTEREST OF ALL MARITIME NATIONS IN ASSURING THE RIGHT OF PASSAGE THROUGH INTERNATIONAL STRAITS. EVEN WHEN THEY ARE WITHIN TERRITORIAL WATERS. POSTS IN ARAB COUNTRIES SHOULD GIVE PARTICULAR EMPHASIS TO THIS.

7. H.M.G., ALONG WITH MANY OTHER GOVERNMENTS, EXPRESSED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE FREEDOM OF PASSAGE THROUGH THE STRAITS OF TIRAN IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON 4 MARCH 1957. AS PRESIDENT NASSER HAS NOW DECLARED HIS INTENTION OF DENYING THIS FREEDOM BY PREVENTING THE PASSAGE OF ISRAEL FLAG SHIPS AND EXERCISING CONTRABAND CONTROL OVER OTHERS, H.M.G. ARE SUPPORTING ACTION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO DEAL WITH THE PRESENT DANGEROUS SITUATION AND ARE ALSO CONSULTING OTHER INTERESTED GOVERNMENTS ON MEANS OF ASSERTING FREEDOM OF PASSAGE.

8. THE FOREGOING IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND FOR USE IN CONVERSATION. IT IS NOT FOR PUBLICATION IN THIS FORM.

9. MY/

9. MY IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING GUIDANCE GIVES BACKGROUND TO H.M.G.~S POLICY STATEMENTS ON THESE SUBJECTS. SOSFA

H.E.

REVIEW OF THE PRESS.

British Embassy, Rabat,
May 25, 1967.

Al Alam (Istiqlal) No. 6211 of 25/5/1967.

A. **Main News Items.**

1. Upon the closure of the Aqaba Gulf for Israeli ships the situation in the Middle East reached a snapping point. The Soviet Union and liberal countries are giving support to the U.A.R. step while Western States, especially America, Britain and Canada have taken a stand against it. Arab States are preparing for the battle while France is proposing a meeting of the Big Four, which the U.A.R. has rejected.

2. Gives a summary of the Soviet ultimatum in respect of the situation in the Middle East. The statement mentioned that the crisis has been brought to a point by a handful of colonial petrol monopolists in whose orbit Israel was rotating.

3. Tells of the celebration today of"Africa Day", and states on the occasion that 80% of African territory has so far been liberated, but 30 million Africans are still in bondage and ought to be freed.

B. **Special News Items.**

1. In relating the sequence of events in the Middle East states that Arab and liberal States are all in sympathy and many an Arab Government has offered to despatch armies to the front. Meanwhile British Forces in the Mediterranean are getting ready for emergency.

2. U.G.E.M. issued a statement expressing solidarity with Arabs in their holy battle against the enemy, on behalf of students and all Moroccan progressists. The UGTM which believes in the liberation of Palestine by means known to colonialists express Moroccan students' readiness to participate in the battle.

3. Peking; M.A.P. Anti-British demonstrations are continuing in Peking following the rumours of the loss of 200 Chinese during the disturbances in Hong Kong.

4. London; M.A.P. A British spokesman said that his Government was worried about the treatment of British Diplomats in Communist China, one of whom was actually kicked about in Shanghai.

5. Balafrej saw Jamal Abdul Nasser and communicated to him Morocco's attitude towards the situation in the East.

C. **Comment.**

1. The editorial states that the time has come for rescuing the Arab world from Israel, the colonial stooge which, for nineteen years, has been helped and supported by Western States to keep the Middle East under their thumb. Arabs are standing in one line with liberal countries close behind and are facing Israel which is receiving colonial backing. The battle will be decisive not only for Israel but for colonialism at whose hands Arabs have suffered long enough. Arabs are prepared to shed the last drop of their blood; and victory will be theirs.

Please submit a draft round up & press for presentation & press comment by morning afternoon.

SERVICE TELEX ◇ SE

1076

HERE CENTROFORM LONDON 22737/8

TO: PRODROME RABAT

RETRACT 56025 REFERRING TO POINT TWO OF YOUR RETRACT 018 OF TODAY
PLEASE CONFIRM RECEIPT OF OUR VERBATIM SERVICE 222/67 MIDDLE
EAST : PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT ON GULF OF AQABA TELEXED TO YOU
YESTERDAY 1445 HRS

CENTROFORM

SENT 1129/25

TELEX ◇ SERVICE 1

PROBROME RABAT
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RABAT 251128Z

ROUTNE RABAT TO CENTRAL OFFICE OF INFORMATION

TELNO RETRACT UNNUMBERED 25 MAY 1967

RECEIPT OF VERBATIM 222 CONFIRMED.

HOLLIDAY SENT 1130Z/25 MAY WDSG
CENTROFORM LDN

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1076

TRACT 58525

SPOKESMAN ON MIDDLE EAST CRISIS.

Too much of this is unattributable for it to be useful as a release

25/5

H.E.
I.O.
26/5

SPOKESMAN WAS ASKED AT TODAY'S FOREIGN OFFICE PRESS CONFERENCE IF HE HAD ANY COMMENT ON THE REPORTED FRENCH PROPOSALS FOR ''BIG FOUR'' TALKS ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION. HE REPLIED THAT THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR HAD CALLED ON THE PERMANENT UNDER-SECRETARY AT THE FO THIS MORNING FOR 20 MINUTES TO PUT FORMALLY TO HIM THE PROPOSALS REFERRED TO BY THE FRENCH MINISTER OF INFORMATION YESTERDAY.

''SINCE WE FIRST SAW PRESS REPORTS WE HAVE BEEN STUDYING THEM VERY CLOSELY,'' HE ADDED, ''AND I AM NOT RPT NOT IN A POSITION TO GIVE YOU A REACTION AT THIS MOMENT.''

A CORRESPONDENT: ''ARE YOU AWARE OF ANY BRITISH SHIP ON ITS WAY TO THE GULF OF AQABA?''

SPOKESMAN REPLIED UNATTRIBUTABLY: ''NO. MY INFORMATION IS THAT NO BRITISH SHIP IS EXPECTED IN THOSE WATERS FOR AT LEAST THE NEXT WEEK.''

CORRESPONDENT: ''IS THIS BECAUSE SHIPS HAVE BEEN ASKED NOT TO GO THERE OR BECAUSE NONE WERE DUE IN ANY CASE?''

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SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERV

SPOKESMAN: ''NONE WERE DUE.'' END UNATTRIBUTABLE.

ASKED TO COMMENT ON REPORTED STATEMENT BY MR. GEORGE THOMSON, MINISTER OF STATE FOREIGN AFFAIRS, IN WASHINGTON, SPOKESMAN SAID: ''AS THE FOREIGN SECTY SAID IN HIS LECTURE IN MOSCOW, WHAT WE HAVE TO DO IS TO PREVENT WARLIKE MEASURES BEING TAKEN BY EITHER SIDE IN HIS DISPUTE.''

A CORRESPONDENT: ''DO YOU CONSIDER THE SECURITY COUNCIL EXERCISE COMPLETED NOW OR DO YOU HAVE ANY PLANS FOR A NEW INITIATIVE?''

SPOKESMAN: ''THE MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WAS ADJOURNED WITHOUT FIXING A TIME TO RESUME.''

UNATTRIBUTABLY HE ADDED: ''THE FEELING OF A NUMBER OF DELEGATES WAS THAT THE REPORT OF THE SECTY GENERAL SHOULD BE AWAITED.'' END UNATTRIBUTABLE.

CORRESPONDENT: ''DO YOUR APPROACHES TO VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS INCLUDE THE EGYPTIANS?''

SPOKESMAN: ''INSOFAR AS WE ARE ABLE TO CONTACT ALL POWERS, IT WOULD.''

ENDS.

PRODROME RABAT
CENTROFORM LDN

SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE

TELEX ◇ SERVICE TELEX ◇ SERVICE

1076

PRODROME RABAT
CENTROFORM LDN

CIRCULAR RETVACT 81025

BRITISH SUPPORT WAS ANNOUNCED TONIGHT .THURSDAY) FOR THE FRENCH PROPOSAL THAT TMERE SHOULD BE FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONS ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT FROM PRIME MINISTER WILSON'S OFFICE IN LONDON STATED:

''THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WELCOME THE PROPOSAL, AMNOUNCED YESTERDAY BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, FOR HIGH LEVEL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF FRANCE, THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET UNION, AND GREAT BRITAIN, ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ARE PREPARED TO CO-OPERATE FULLY IN GIVING EFFECT TO THIS PROPOSAL''. END STATEMENT.

THE BRITISH CABINET, UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF PRIME MINISTER WILSON, HAD MET FOR TWO HOURS EARLIER IN THE DAY.

CENTROFORM

26/V

Text sent to M.A.P. at 1800 today 25/5/67

25/5

HLE. 26/5

OS. ALS 26.V

Au Moyen-Orient la tension est à son comble

LA FRANCE PRECONISE : REUNION DES "4 GRANDS"

(USA, URSS, Grande-Bretagne, France)

Le blocus du seul port israélien sur la mer Rouge a commencé et les forces de terre et de mer égyptiennes sont prêtes à intervenir à tout moment. Le journal officieux cairote « Al Ahram » annonce même que l'entrée du golfe a été minée. NFM : Une vue du golfe d'Akaba, au fond les montagnes du détroit de Tiran. (Photo AFP)

LE CAIRE : NOUS AVONS CONFIANCE DANS LA FRANCE

ET SPECIALEMENT DANS LE GENERAL DE GAULLE

WASHINGTON ACCEPTE LA PROPOSITION FRANÇAISE

LONDRES FORCERA LE BLOCUS D'AKABA AVEC OU SANS L'ONU

Déclaration de Wilson

M. Harold Wilson, Premier ministre britannique, a annoncé aujourd'hui, que la Grande-Bretagne serait prête à prendre part à une action internationale, même en dehors du cadre des Nations Unies, pour que le droit de libre passage au golfe d'Akaba soit reconnu à tous les navires.

(1076)

TELEGRAM

Cypher

Code

Clear

From :— RABAT / *To :—* C.O.I.

Despatched Received

No. Retract 18 of 25 May, 1967.

FLASH
UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to C.O.I. telegram No. Retract No. 18 of 25 May.

Petit Marocain headlines Prime Minister's statement on Gulf of Akaba quote "Londres forcera le blocus o'Akaba avec on sans l'ONU unquote". May I deny?

2. Please telex text of statement.

HOLLIDAY

(3517) A.O.Ltd.

1076
Rabat

EN CLAIR AND BY BAG

PRIORITY FOREIGN OFFICE AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE TO CERTAIN MISSIONS

GUIDANCE NO. 117 25 MAY, 1967 (IPG)

UNCLASSIFIED

Re Russians refused. Only TD. 5/6

MIDDLE EAST SITUATION: FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR FOUR POWER TALKS.

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT WAS ISSUED TODAY:-

QUOTE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WELCOMES THE PROPOSAL ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT FOR HIGH LEVEL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF FRANCE, UNITED STATES, SOVIET UNION AND GREAT BRITAIN ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ARE PREPARED TO CO-OPERATE FULLY IN GIVING EFFECT TO THIS PROPOSAL. UNQUOTE

1. YOU MAY SAY UNATTRIBUTABLY THAT WE WILL BE KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH ALL THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED TO DISCUSS HOW THIS PROPOSAL CAN BE IMPLEMENTED.

2. WE WILL BE FLEXIBLE ON THE WAY IN WHICH THE DISCUSSIONS CAN BE BROUGHT ABOUT, BUT WE WOULD WISH THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THESE TALKS AND THE UNITED NATIONS TO BE MAINTAINED.

SOSFA/CROSEC SENT 1955Z 25 MAY

BY TELEGRAPH:

ANKARA	PARIS	BAHRAIN
BONN	UKDEL NATO PARIS	JEDDA
BRUSSELS	UKDEL STRASBOURG	TEL AVIV
COPENHAGEN	ROME	BENGHAZI
THE HAGUE	MOSCOW	ADDIS ABABA
TOKYO		

[ALL PRIORITY]

F.O./C.O./WH DISTRIBUTION

J.I.P.G.D.

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY - 2 JUN 1967

1076

DECLARATION DU PARTI DE L'ISTIQLAL
SUR LA SITUATION POLITIQUE ET LA SITUATION MILITAIRE
AU MOYEN ORIENT ARABE

-:-:-:-

Le Comité exécutif du Parti de l'Istiqlal s'est réuni en séance extraordinaire pour examiner la situation au Moyen Orient et la menace dangereuse à laquelle fait face notre nation arabe.

Après s'être rapproché du Président Allal El Fassi dans sa clinique parisienne, et pris son point de vue quant à la situation dangereuse que connaissent les pays arabes, le Comité exécutif a décidé de publier la déclaration suivante :

- DECLARATION -

Au moment même où la Nation arabe en Orient comme en Occident, espère libérer la Palestine, et laver la honte de l'occupation de la terre sainte par une poignée de terroristes aventuriers étrangers à cette terre, en ce moment même l'état des racistes sionistes menace les pays arabes limitrophes d'une guerre, mettant en danger la paix et la sécurité des arabes et manoeuvre les états colonialistes et impérialistes pour l'aider dans ses visées belliqueuses contre les pays arabes qui se sont mobilisés pour défendre leur intégrité et leur dignité.

Le Parti de l'Istiqlal qui considère la Palestine comme partie intégrante de la nation arabe, et qui de tous temps a placé parmi les premières causes pour lesquelles il combat, la libération de la Palestine et le retour des arabes dans leurs droits spoliés fait aux istiqlaliens et à tous les citoyens arabes la déclaration suivante :

1º- Le Parti de l'Istiqlal considère que la Paix au Moyen Orient ne peut être assurée tant que subsiste en Palestine spoliée, un état sioniste hostile.

Le Parti de l'Istiqlal estime également qu'il ne peut y avoir de solution aux problèmes du Moyen Orient qu'en faisant disparaître cet état de fait qui illustre le vrai visage du colonialisme et du racisme et qui est la cause du drame d'un million et demi d'êtres deshérités vivant dans la pauvreté, la misère, les privations, l'ignorance et la maladie, alors que leurs foyers ont été occupés par des groupements d'aventuriers, qui bénéficiaient dans leurs pays respectifs de tous les droits de la citoyenneté, de l'emploi et de la liberté !

Le Parti de l'Istiqlal proclame sa solidarité avec les combattants palestiniens qui mènent la lutte à l'intérieur des territoires occupés, et considère leur action glorieuse comme une partie de la lutte pour la liberté que doit mener tout arabe et tout musulman car tous sont responsables de la libération de la Palestine.

2º- Le Parti de l'Istiqlal considère que la menace qui plane sur le Moyen Orient et qui peut engendrer une guerre où ne seront pas seules parties les pays arabes et Israël - qui profite de cette situation pour résoudre ses problèmes particuliers -, est le seul fait d'Israël et des pays impérialistes qui complotent avec lle.

.../....

Le Parti proclame que la responsabilité du danger qui menace l'humanité incombe aux sionistes ainsi qu'aux impérialistes qui occupent les pays arabes, et essaient de leur imposer de nouveau leur volonté et leur tutelle.

5- Le Parti de l'Istiqlal assure de son entière solidarité tous les pays arabes qui sont à l'avant garde de la lutte.

Il considère leur combat, un combat sacré qui doit être appuyé par les hommes, les armes et l'argent.

Le Parti appuie les justes revendications légitimes présentées par la République arabe unie, quant à la fermeture du golfe d'Akaba -qui fait partie intégrante de la nation arabe, et dans ceux territoriales arabes, aux navires israéliens et aux navires qui transportent à"Israël" des produits stratégiques.

Le Parti de l'Istiqlal dénie aux Etats impérialistes et colonialistes tout droit de considérer ce golfe comme voie d'eau internationale, car son utilisation par"Israël"donne à ce pays des moyens accrus dans ses visées agressives contre les pays arabes.

6- Le Parti de l'Istiqlal appelle tous les pays arabes et islamiques à faire front contre l'agression qui menace notre nation arabe au Moyen Orient, et leur lance un appel pressant pour qu'ils oublient dans les pénibles circonstances que nous traversons, leurs divergences.

Le sionisme - et derrière lui l'impérialisme - ne vise pas seulement la Palestine, la Syrie ou la Jordanie. Il vise l'occupation d'une grande partie de la nation arabe et musulmane. Il menace la foi musulmane, il menace l'unité de notre pays et son progrès social et économique. Aussi le combat contre le sionisme est-il dicté par la religion, le patriotisme ainsi que par notre volonté de vaincre le colonialisme, le sous-développement et le racisme.

7- Le Parti de l'Istiqlal invite le Gouvernement marocain à se joindre aux pays arabes qui font face à l'agression et à remplir les obligations que lui impose le pacte de défense mutuelle arabe. Le Parti de l'Istiqlal undé au Gouvernement marocain de participer à la lutte avec tous les moyens dont il dispose, car la question palestinienne et celle des pays arabes occupés, ne concernent pas les seuls pays arabes du Moyen Orient, mais concernent aussi les Marocains tous qu'ils soient musulmans, juifs ou tout autre citoyens d'un Etat qui a toujours été à la lutte aux côtés de ceux qui combattent le colonialisme et le racisme.

8- Le Parti de l'Istiqlal invite enfin tous les Istiqlaliens à se tenir prêts pour répondre à l'appel du devoir national, pour une solidarité et un effort communs dans la lutte que mènent nos concitoyens au Moyen Orient contre le sionisme et le colonialisme./.

SIEGE CENTRAL
DU PARTI DE L'ISTIQLAL
Avenue Morabitine - RABAT

P/N.

AZS 26.V

Avec les Compliments
du Parti de l'Istiqlal

1076

BRITISH EMBASSY,
RABAT.

26 May, 1967.

..... I enclose the text of a resolution on the Middle East situation issued by the Istiqlal party and published in the press today. Although it does no more than reflect the party line which has always been openly nationalistic towards Israel, it is nonetheless noteworthy in two respects: it is the first unequivocal prise de position from any quarter in Morocco since the crisis began a week ago; and Allal el Fassi was fully consulted in his hospital bed. This means of course that his leadership of the party is still formally acknowledged, despite his long absence from the political scene.

(A. L. Southorn)

R. H. Baker, Esq.,
North & East African Department,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

1076

AMBASSADE DE LA REPUBLIQUE

ARABE UNIE

BABAT

Replique de S.E. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la République Arabe Unie concernant la declaration de MR. Browon Ministre des Affaires Etrangères Britanique dans laquelle il prétend qu'il faut consulter les états interessés avant de mettre fin à la Mission de F.U.N.U.

S.E. Monsieur M. Riad dit notamment:

p/m.

AZS 26.V

IL semble que MR. Browen ne voulait pas comprendre la réalité dans la région.De plus ses opinions sur la F.U.N.U. sont admissible et deforme le rôle de N.U. MR.Browen croit qu'on peut imposer la F.U.N.U. contre la volonté des nations,cette pensée ne sera accepté que par les pays imperialistes.

La F.U.N.U. est venue en Egypte et à Gaza après l'autorisation du gouvernement Egyptien et par voix de conséquence le gouvernement Egyptien à le droit à n'importe quel moment de mettre fin à la mission de F.U.N.U. sans avis prealable.

Le Ministre de la R.A.U. ajoute que toute tertative vise à sener la donte don ce principe rien d'autre but que d'affaiblir le rôle de N.U.

107 C

No. 96

BRITISH EMBASSY
RABAT
26 May 1967

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to transmit herewith for Your Excellency's information extracts from a speech on the situation in the Near East made on the 24th of May by the Right Honourable Harold Wilson, M.P., Prime Minister of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. The following further information on the policy of my Government will, I hope, be of interest.

Tripartite Declaration 1950

Her Majesty's Government have repeatedly made clear that in their view this has been superseded by Mr. Macmillan's statement of 14 May 1963, as subsequently reaffirmed in Parliament by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary in 1965 and 1966.

In the tripartite declaration the three Governments stated their intentions

(a) about the supply of arms to the Middle East; and

(b) in the event of attempts to violate the frontiers or armistice lines in the area.

At that time there were British forces in Egypt, Jordan and Iraq. The later statements emphasise Her Majesty's Government's view that the United Nations is primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace in the area.

The Arab-Israel dispute

We wish to retain friendly relations with both sides in this dispute and in all other disputes and rivalries in the area. We deplore the resort to force by either side to settle disputes. Her Majesty's Government have a deep

/interest

His Excellency Dr. Ahmed Laraki,
Minister for Foreign Affairs,
RABAT.

interest in the maintenance of peace and stability in the area and support the United Nations machinery established to work towards this end.

The Gulf of Aqaba

The Prime Minister has stated Her Majesty's Government's current position on navigation through the straits of Tiran and in the Gulf of Aqaba in a speech at Margate on 24 May. In the view of Her Majesty's Government, the Straits of Tiran are an international waterway through which ships of all nations, including Israel, have the right to innocent passage.

The United Arab Republic and Saudi Arabia claim territorial sea extending to twelve miles. Her Majesty's Government do not recognise this. But even were it recognised, there would stillbe a right of innocent passage because the Straits are used for international navigation between the high seas and the territorial waters of Israel and Jordan (as well as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Republic). Article 16 of the 1958 Geneva Convention on the territorial sea refers.

The United Arab Republic claims to be in a state of war with Israel and therefore to exercise belligerent rights. Her Majesty's Government do not recognise that a state of war exists. In this connection Security Council Resolution number 95 of 1 September, 1951, is relevant, particularly the following paragraph:

> "Since the armistice régime, which has been in existence for nearly two and a half years, is of a permanent character, neither party can reasonably assert that it is actively a belligerent or requires to exercise the right of visit, search and seizure for any legitimate purpose of self-defence."

Her Majesty's Government's view is that the Security Council should continue to be guided by this consideration,

/and

and should hold responsible any state which commits a breach of international peace and security.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest consideration,

Your Excellency's obedient Servant,

N. 96
1076.

AMBASSADE DE GRANDE
BRETAGNE,
RABAT

le 26 mai 1967

Traduction non officielle

Monsieur le Ministre,

J'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-inclus, pour la gouverne de Votre Excellence, des extraits d'un discours prononcé le 24 mai par le Right Honourable Harold Wilson, M.P., Premier Ministre du Gouvernement Britannique au Royaume Uni, au sujet de la situation au Proche Orient. J'espère que les renseignements additionnels concernant la politique de mon Gouvernement vous seront utiles.

Déclaration Tripartite de 1950

Le Gouvernement Britannique a, à maintes reprises, expliqué clairement qu'à son point de vue la déclaration en question a été remplacée par la déclaration de Monsieur Macmillan en date du 14 mai 1963, qui, par la suite, a été réaffirmée au sein du Parlement par le Premier Ministre et le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères en 1965 et en 1966.

Dans la déclaration tripartite, les trois gouvernements ont fait état de leurs intentions quant à:

(a) la fourniture d'armes au Moyen Orient; et

(b) l'éventualité d'attentats de violation des frontières ou lignes de l'armistice dans cette région.

A cette époque, des troupes britanniques stationnaient en Egypte, Jordanie et Iraq. Les déclarations ultérieures soulignent le point de vue du Gouvernement Britannique suivant lequel les Nations Unies sont en premier lieu responsables du maintien de la paix dans cette région.

La dispute Arabe/Israel

Nous désirons demeurer en relations amicales avec les deux parties dans cette dispute, et également dans toutes

/les

Son Excellence Monsieur le Docteur Ahmed Laraki,
Ministre des Affaires Etrangères,
RABAT.

les autres disputes et rivalités de cette région. Nous déplorons le recours à la force, par l'une ou l'autre partie, pour le réglement de disputes. Le Gouvernement Britannique a un profond intérêt dans le maintien de la paix et de la stabilité dans cette région, et accorde son appui à toute action des Nations Unies à cet effet.

Le Golfe d'Aqaba

Le Premier Ministre, au cours d'un discours le 24 mai à Margate, a expliqué la position actuelle du Gouvernement Britannique quant à la navigation à travers le détroit de Tiran et le Golfe d'Aqaba. Au point de vue du Gouvernement Britannique, le détroitede Tiran est une voie d'eau internationale à travers laquelle les navires de toutes les nations, y compris Israel, ont le droit de naviguer sans encombre.

La République Arabe Unie et l'Arabie Séoudite déclarent que leurs eaux territoriales s'étendent jusqu'à 12 miles (19 kilomètres). Le Gouvernement Britannique ne reconnaît pas ce droit. Mais, même dans l'affirmative, il existerait toujours un droit de passage sans encombre, car le détroit est utilisé pour la navigation internationale entre la haute mer et les eaux territoriales d'Israel et Jordanie (et également celles d'Arabie Séoudite et de la République Arabe Unie). L'Article 16 de la Convention de Genève de 1958 sur les eaux territoriales en fait foi.

La République Arabe Unie prétend être en état de guerre avec Israel et, par conséquent, d'exercer des droits de belligérent. Le Gouvernement Britannique ne reconnaît pas qu'il existe un état de guerre. Dans ce contexte, la Résolution No. 95 du Conseil de Sécurité en date du 1er septembre 1951 s'applique et tout particulièrement le paragraphe suivant:

/"Puisque

"Puisque le régime de l'armistice, qui existe depuis presque deux ans et demi, a un caractère permenent, ni l'une ni l'autre partie ne peut affirmer avec raison qu'elle est un belligérent actif, et qu'elle a besoin d'exercer le droit de visite, examen ou saisie dans un but quelconque légitime de propre défense."

Le point de vue du Gouvernement Britannique est que le Conseil de Sécurité devrait continuer à s'inspirer de cette considération, et devrait tenir responsable tout état qui enfeindrait à la paix et à la sécurité internationales.

Je vous prie de croire, Monsieur le Ministre, à l'assurance de ma haute considération.

(L.G. Holliday)

TELEGRAM

~~Cypher~~

~~Code~~

Clear

From:— RABAT *To:—* FOREIGN OFFICE

Despatched Received

No. 159 of 26 May, 1967.

(Sent 29 May 1967.

ROUTINE
UNCLASSIFIED

ASIDE. Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 159 of 26 May. Repeated for information Saving to Cairo, Washington and Paris.

Middle East Crisis - Round-up of Press Comment

The crisis has been fully covered in news presentation and comment by both the French and Arabic press. In general the line has been support for the U.A.R. in her actions and condemnation of the Western powers for wishing to maintain the status quo in the area.

2. "Al Anbaa" (semi-official) in the early stages confined itself largely to factual accounts but later gave much importance to the announcement of M. Balafrej's mission to Cairo and came out more strongly on the side of the Arabs.

3. The Istiqlali press have predictably followed the Arab thesis that Israel is a running sore that must be removed and that her present aggressive intentions are a direct result of the encouragement given her by Western imperialist powers. The visit of M. Balafrej to Cairo was generally welcomed though the hope was expressed that he would offer material backing in addition to expressions of moral support. "Al Alam" has, in particular, contrasted the support the U.S.S. R. and her allies have extended to the Arabs with the attitude adopted by the U.S.A., the U.K. and Canada whose sole motive is the maintenance of their colonialist position in the middle East.

/4.....

4. "Al Massaa" (Independent) hazards a guess that Morocco will offer to send a military force to Gaza but stresses that the chief danger lies in the possibility of a major conflict between the two great power blocs as a result of support extended by each side to the Arabs and the Israelis. The paper condemns imperialism and colonialism but also calls for unity among the Arabs saying that it is only the divisions between them which have enabled Israel to survive for the past 18 years.

5. ("Le Petit Marocain" and "La Vigie" have in general relied on agency reports, in particular A.F.P. with the addition of some tendentious headlining (see my Retract 18 of 25 May). The French position has thus received excellent coverage, their proposal for a four-power conference being awarded banner headlines whilst a Cairo statement of confidence in France and particularly in General de Gaulle was given full treatment.

6. La Vigie today publishes a statement attributed by Cairo Radio to M. Balafrej to the effect that King, Government and people of Morocco are solidly behind the U.A.R. and her "adequate measures" to combat the aggressive machinations of Israel and imperialism.

HOLLIDAY

DÉCLARATION DU PARTI DE L'ISTIQLAL

Le Comité Exécutif du Parti de l'Istiqlal s'est réuni en séance extraordinaire pour examiner la situation au Moyen-Orient et la menace à laquelle fait face notre nation arabe.

Après s'être rapproché du Président Allal El Fassi dans sa clinique parisienne, et pris son point de vue quant à la situation dangereuse que connaissent les pays arabes, le Comité Exécutif a décidé de publier la déclaration suivante :

Au moment même où la Nation arabe en Orient comme en Occident espère libérer la Palestine et laver la honte de l'occupation de la terre sainte par une poignée de terroristes aventuriers étrangers à cette terre, en ce moment même « l'Etat » des racistes sionistes menace les pays arabes limitrophes d'une guerre, mettant en danger la paix et la sécurité des Arabes et manœuvre les Etats colonialistes et impérialistes pour l'aider dans ses visées belliqueuses contre les pays arabes qui se sont mobilisés pour défendre leur intégrité et leur dignité.

Le Parti de l'Istiqlal qui considère la Palestine comme partie intégrante de la Nation arabe et qui de tous temps a placé parmi les premières causes pour lesquelles il combat, la libération de la Palestine et le retour des Arabes dans leurs droits spoliés, fait aux Istiqlaliens et à tous les citoyens arabes, la déclaration suivante :

1) Le Parti de l'Istiqlal considère que la paix au Moyen-Orient ne peut être assurée tant que subsiste en Palestine spoliée un Etat sioniste hostile.

Le Parti de l'Istiqlal estime également qu'il ne peut y avoir de solution aux problèmes du Moyen-Orient qu'en faisait disparaître cet état de fait qui illustre le vrai visage du colonialisme et du racisme et qui est la cause du drame d'un million et demi d'êtres déshérités, vivant dans la pauvreté, la misère, les privations, l'ignorance et la maladie, alors que leurs foyers ont été occupés par des groupements d'aventuriers, qui bénéficiaient dans leurs pays respectifs de tous les droits de la citoyenneté, de l'emploi et de la liberté.

Le Parti de l'Istiqlal proclame sa solidarité avec les combattants palestiniens qui mènent la lutte à l'intérieur des territoires occupés et considère leur action glorieuse comme une partie de la lutte pour la liberté que doit mener tout Arabe et tout Musulman, car tous sont responsables de la libération de la Palestine.

2) Le Parti de l'Istiqlal considère que la menace qui plane sur le Moyen-Orient et qui peut engendrer une guerre où ne seront pas seules parties les pays arabes et « Israël » (qui profite de cette situation pour résoudre ses problèmes particuliers), est le seul fait « d'Israël » et des pays impérialistes qui complotent.

Le Parti proclame que la responsabilité du danger qui menace l'Humanité incombe aux sionistes ainsi qu'aux impérialistes qui menacent les pays arabes et essaient de leur imposer nouveau leur volonté et leur tutelle.

3) Le Parti de l'Istiqlal assure de son entière solidarité tous les pays arabes qui sont à l'avant-garde de sa lutte.

Il considère leur combat, un combat sacré qui doit être appuyé par les hommes, les armes et l'argent.

4) Le Parti appuie les mesures légitimes prises par la République Arabe Unie, quant à la fermeture du Golfe d'Akaba, qui fait partie intégrante de la Nation arabe, et des eaux territoriales arabes, aux navires israéliens et aux autres navires qui transportent à « Israël » des produits stratégiques.

Le Parti de l'Istiqlal dénie aux Etats impérialistes et colonialistes tout droit de considérer ce Golfe comme voie d'eau internationale car son utilisation par « Israël » donne à ce pays des moyens accrus dans ses visées agressives contre les pays arabes.

4) Le Parti de l'Istiqlal appelle tous les pays arabes et [illegible] à faire front contre l'agression qui menace notre Nation arabe au Moyen-Orient et leur lance un appel pressant pour qu'ils oublient dans les pénibles circonstances que nous traversons, leur divergences.

Le sionisme — et derrière lui l'impérialisme — ne vise pas seulement l'Egypte, la Syrie ou la Jordanie. Il vise l'occupation d'une grande partie de la Nation arabe et musulmane. Il menace la foi musulmane, il menace l'unité de notre pays et son progrès social et économique. Aussi, le combat contre le sionisme est-il dicté par la religion, le patriotisme ainsi que par notre volonté de vaincre le colonialisme, le sous-développement et le racisme.

5) Le Parti de l'Istiqlal invite le Gouvernement marocain à se joindre aux pays arabes qui font face à l'agression et à remplir les obligations que lui imposent le Pacte de défense mutuelle arabe. Le Parti de l'Istiqlal demande au Gouvernement marocain de participer à la lutte avec tous les moyens dont il dispose, car la question palestinienne et celle des pays arabes menacés, ne concerne pas les seuls pays arabes du Moyen-Orient, mais concerne aussi les Marocains en tant qu'Arabes et Musulmans et en tant que citoyens d'un Etat qui a conquis grâce à la lutte héroïque de son peuple contre le colonialisme et le racisme.

6) Le Parti de l'Istiqlal invite enfin tous les Istiqlaliens à se tenir prêts pour répondre à l'appel du devoir national pour une solidarité et une jonction effective dans la lutte que mènent nos concitoyens du Moyen-Orient contre le sionisme et le colonialisme.

O.S.
(en spécial)
26/V

Copy sent to NEA
AES 26-V

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher/CAT.A

[Distribution Heading]

FROM 7.O TO Rabat.

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. Guidance 119 D M

[Date] 27 May R M

Repeated to

[Priority] Priority

July 1/6

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDRESSED TO CERTAIN MISSIONS TELEGRAM NUMBER

GUIDANCE 119.

GULF OF AQABA.

Above, M.I.F.T. GUIDANCE CONTAINS A SUMMARY OF POSITIONS

ADOPTED IN THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY THE U.N.

SECRETARY GENERAL AND SOME OF THE MARITIME

DISTRIBUTION POWERS WITH WHOM WE ARE NOW IN CONSULTATION ABOUT

INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO MAINTAIN THE RIGHT OF

FREE PASSAGE THROUGH THE GULF OF AQABA AND THE

STRAITS OF TIRAN. SOSFA

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.We.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

SERVICE TELEX ◇ SECRET ◇ SERVICE TELEX

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PRIORITY FOREIGN OFFIECE TO RABAT

TELNO GUIDANCE 120 27 TH MAY 1967

See also IPT below 1/6

GUIDANCENU80

~~PRODROME RABATDWNG~~ ADDRESSED TO CERTAIN MISSIONS TELEGRAM NO GUIDANCE 120 OF 27 MAY.

GULF OF AQABA.

U.N.SECRETARY-GENERAL (IN A NOTE TO THE ASSEMBLY DATED 27 FEBRUARY, 1957) REPORTED AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL THAT UNEF'S FUNCTION WOULD INCLUDE THE PREVENTION OF ACTS OF BELLIGERENCY AT THE STRAITS OF TIRAN, AND THAT THE PROCEDURE FOR ITS WITHDRAWAL FROM SHARM ES SHEIKH WOULD BE FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO INFORM THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF UNEF, WHO WOULD DETERMINE WHETHER THE MATTER SHOULD BE REFERRED TO THE ASSEMBLY.

2. THE UNITED STATES:

(A) PRESIDENT EISENHOWER WAS QUOTED BY ISRAEL M.F.A. AS HAVING PUBLICLY STATED ON 20 FEBRUARY, 1957, QUOTE WE SHOULD NOT ASSUME THAT, IF ISRAEL WITHDRAWS, EGYPT WILL PREVENT ISRAEL SHIPPING FROM USING THE SUEZ CANAL OR THE GULF OF AQABA UNQUOTE.

(B) WHITE HOUSE MEMORANDUM OF 11 FEBRUARY NOTED THAT ISRAEL QUOTE WILL WITHDRAW FROM SHARM ES SHEIKH IF CONTINUED FREEDOM OF PASSAGE THROUGH THE STRAITS IS ASSURED UNQUOTE: DESCRIBED THE GULF OF AQABA AS QUOTE INTERNATIONAL WATERF UNQOUTE IN WHICH NO NATION HAD THE RIGHT TO PREVENT FREE AND INNOCENT PASSAGE: AND STATED THAT THE U.S. WAS PREPARED TO EXERCISE THE RIGHT OF FREE AND INNOCENT PASSAGE ON BEHALF OF U.S. VESSELS AND QUOTE TO JOIN WITH OTHERS TO SECURE GENERAL RECOGNITION OF THIS RIGHT UNQUOTE.

(C) U.S. REPRESENTATIVE, IN THE ASSEMBLY DEBATE OF 2 MARCH, 1957, IN NOTING THE ISRAEL STATEMENT SAID THAT THE U.S. DID NOT CONSIDER THAT THE ISRAEL DECLARATIONS MADE ISRAEL'S WITHDRAWAL FROM SHARM ES SHEIKH CONDITIONAL, BUT THAT THEY CONSTITUTED QUOTE RESTATEMENTS OF WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN SAID BY THE ASSEMBLY OR BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN HIS REPORTS, OR HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS WHICH SEEM TO US NOT UNREASONABLE IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRIOR ACTIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY UNQUOTE.

3. ISRAEL M.F.A. NOTED WITH GRATIFICATION THAT LEADING MARITIME POWERS FORESAW A NORMAL AND REGULAR FLOW OF TRAFFIC OF ALL CARGOES IN THE GULF OF AQABA, WERE PREPARED TO SUBSCRIBE TO THE DOCTRINE SET OUT IN THE U.S. MEMORANDUM AND HAD A SIMILAR INTENTION TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHTS. ISRAEL WAS RESOLVED ON BEHALF OF VESSELS OF ISRAEL REGISTRY TO EXERCISE THE RIGHT OF FREE AND INNOCENT PASSAGE AND WAS PREPARED QUOTE TO JOIN WITH OTHERS TO SECURE UNIVERSAL RESPECT OF THIS RIGHTUNQUOTE. SHE WOULD REGARD INTERFERENCE BY ARMED FORCE WITH SUCH ISRAEL SHIPPING AS AN ATTACK ENTITLING HER TO EXERCISEHMEC INHERENT RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENCE UNDER ARTICLE 51 OF THE CHARTER AND TO QUOTE TAKE ALL SUCH MEASURES AS ARE NECESSARY TO ENSURE THE FREE AND INNOCENT PASSAGE OF HER SHIPS UNQUOTE.

4. U.K. STATEMENTS WERE REPORTED IN VERBATIM 222.

5.

FRANCE REGARDED THE GULF OF AQABA AND THE STRAITS OF TIRAN AS CONSTITUTING INTERNATIONAL WATERS, INTENDED TO EXERCISE ITS RIGHT OF FREE NAVIGATION EFFECTIVELY, AND CONSIDERED THAT ANY OBSTRUCTION OF ITS FREEDOM OF PASSAGE WOULD BE CONTRARY TO INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THAT IT MIGHT TAKE MEASURES UNDER ARTICLE 51 OF THE CHARTER. THE FRENCH DELEGATE STATED THAT IN THE FRENCH VIEW NONE OF THE STATES BORDERING ON HTE GULF OF AQABA WAS IN A STATE OF WAR AND THAT CONSEQUENTLY ISRAEL'S POSITION APPEARED PERFECTLY IN ACCORD WITH INTER NATIONAL LAW.

6.

ITALY CONSIDERED THE GULF OF AQABA AN INTERNATIONAL WATERWQY IN WHICH NO NATION HAD THE RIGHT TO PREVENT FREE AND INNOCENT PASSAGE.

7.

THE NETHERLANDS CONSIDERED THAT PASSAGE THROUGH THE STRAITS OF TIRAN SHOULD BE QUOTE FREE, OPEN AND UNHINDERED FOR THE SHIPS OF ALL NATIONF KNQUOTE. IT GAVE 4 REASONS:-

(I) THE GULF OF AQABA WAS TO BE REGARDED AS PORT OF THE OPEN SEA SINCE IT WAS BORDERED BY FOUR DIFFERENT STATES AND HAD A WIDTH IN EXCESS OF THE THREEMILES OF TERRITORIAL WATERS OF THOSE LITORAL STATES.

(II) THE STRAITS OF TIRAN CONSEQUENTLY WERE STRAITS CONNECTING THE OPEN SEAS.

(III) THERE WAS A RIGHT OF FREE PASSAGE THROUGH/STRAITS EVEN IF THEY WERE SO NARROW AS TO FALL ENTIRELY WITHIN THE TERRITORIAL WATERS OF ONE OR MORE STATES.

(IV) IN SUCH A CASE THE LITTORAL STATES HAD THE RIGHT TO VERIFY THE INNOCENT CHARACTER OF THE PASSAGE. BUT THIS RIGHT OF VERIFICATION DID NOT EXIST WHERE A STRAIT CONNECTED TWO PARTS OF THE OPEN SEA.

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SERVICE TELEX

5. FRANCE REGARDED THE GULF OF AQABA AND THE STRAITS OF TIRAN AS CONSTITUTING INTERNATIONAL WATERS, INTENDED TO EXERCISE ITS RIGHT
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OF ITS FREEDOM OF PASSAGE.727 23 :2,54-46 52 8,534,-502,-1)-2 -,
PRODROME RABATA

EASURES UNDER ARTICLE 51 OF THE CHARTER. THE FRENCH DELEGATE STATED THAT IN THE FRENCH VIEW NONE OF THE STATES BORDERING ON THE GULF OF AQABA WAS IN A STATE OF WAR AND THAT CONSEQUENTLY ISRAEL'S POSITION APPEARED PERFECTLY IN ACCORD WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW.

GULFZJEYAQABACBEREDTERNATIONAL WATERWAY IN WHICH NO NATION HAD THE RIGHT TO PREVENT FREE AND INNOCENT PASSAGE. (I) THE NETHERLANDS CONSIDERED THAT PASSAGE THROUGH THE STRAITS OF TIRAN SHOULD BE QUO E YZE, OPEN AND UNHINDERED FOR THE SHIPS OF ALL NATIONS UNQUOTE. IT GAVE 4 REASONS:-

(I) THE GULF OF AQABA WAS TO BE REGARDED AS PART OF THE OPEN SEA
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PRODROME RABAT

STATES.

(II) THE STRAITS OF TIRAN CONSEQUENTLY WERE STRAITS CONNECTING THE O
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(III) THERE WAS A RIGHT OF FREE PASSAGE THROUGH/STRAITS EVEN IF THEY WERE SO NARROW AS TO FALL ENTIRELY WITHIN THE TERRITORIAL WATERS OF ONE OR MORE STATES.

(IV) IN SUCH A CASE THE LITTORAL STATES HAD THE RIGHT TO VERIFY THE INNOCENT CHARACTER OF THE PASSAGE. BUT THIS RIGHT OF VERIFICATION DID NOT EXIST WHERE A STRAIT CONNECTED TWO PARTS OF THE OPEN SEA.

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PRODROME RABAT
FOR 4 FO LDN GRS 263 27 2125Z
ROUTINE FOREIGN OFFICE TO RABAT
TELEGRAM NUMBER 204 26 MAY 1967

1076

See IFT above. Lilly 20/6

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM TUNIS

TUNISIAN SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS TELEGRAPHED TO SECRETARY-GENERAL OF ARAB LEAGUE EXPRESSING THE PRESIDENT'S CONCERN OVER RECENT DEVELOPMENT, CONFIRMING TUNISIA'S SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT FOR THE CAUSE OF PALESTINE, AND RECALLING THAT TUNISIA STILL CONSIDERS HERSELF BOUND BY THE UNDERTAKINGS MADE AT THE FIRST AND SECOND ARAB SUMMITS, AND THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF ARAB GOVERNMENTS. ON THE PALESTINE PROBLEM AND THE POSSIBILITY OF ISRAELI AGRESSION AGAINST ANY RAB STATE. SECRETARY- GENERAL IS REMINDED THAT TUNISIA'S POSITION WAS DEFINED IN AN OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO ARAB LEAGUE ON 22MAY, 1965.

2. IN A LEADING ARTICLE ON 28 MAY, THE PARTY NEWSPAPER PROCLAIMS TUNISIA'S DEVOTION TO THE IDEAL OF ARAB SOLIDARITY DESPITE EGYPTIAN CALUMNY AND SUBVERSION. BUT POINTS OUT HOW MUCH STRONGER THE ARAB POSITION WOULD BE IF ARAB WERE NOT FIGHTING ARAB IN THE YEMEN, IF SUSPICION AND DISTRUST WERE NOT UNIVERSAL, AND IF +CERTAIN REGIMES AND CERTAIN ORGANISATIONS WERE NOT WORKING TO OVERTHROW THE ESTABLISHED ORDER IN JORDAN+ THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS WAS DEPLORABLE REMISCENT OF +THE MONSTROUS PECES OD DEMAGOGUERY WHICH THE EASTERN HALF OF THE ARAB WORLD PERIODICALLY STAGES TO IMPRESS THE CREDULOUS+. +23 NOV03+ , THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES, +THAT THIS TIME, NASSER SERIOUSLY INTENDS TO RESIST TO THE END. WE HOPE ALSO THAT THE ACTION THAT HAS BEEN UNDERTAKEN WILL EFFECTUALLY WIPE OUT THE HUMILIATIONS OF THE BATTLE OF SUEZ, AND THAT THE FINAL RESULT WILL BE TO STRENGTHEN THE ARAB POSITION AFTER ELEVN YEARS OF INACTION AND ACQUIESCENCE IN ISRAELI PRETENSIONS.

.....TO THIS OBJECTIVE WE WILL CONTRIBUTE BY ALL THE MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL+.

FO PASS RABAT 10, UKMIS NEW YORK 4 AND WASHINGTON 7.

M
SOSFA

PSE INSERT AFTER FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM TUNIS
ADDRESSED TO FO TELNO 104 OF 26/5 AND OTHERS

C IN PARA 2 LINE 11 BEGINS
WE HOPE

SENT 2130Z FH

PRODROME RABAT

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En Clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher/OTP

[Distribution Heading]

FROM F.O. TO Rabat

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 205 D M

[Date] 27 May. R M

Repeated to

Seen by H.E. 1/6

[Priority]

CONFIDENTIAL.

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM TUNIS

ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TEL NO 105 OF 26 MAY

REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO UKMIS NEW YORK

WASHINGON PARIS MOSCOW DAMASCUS AMMAN BAGHDAD

JEDDA BEIRUT CAIRO TRIPOLI BENGHAZI ALGIERS RABAT

KHARTOUM KUWAIT TEL AVIV JERUSALEM.

DISTRIBUTION

M I P T.

TUNISIA HAS OF COURSE NO INTENTION OF DOING ANY

MORE ABOUT PALESTINE THAN IS STRICTLY NECESSARY

TO PRESERVE HER VIRTUE AS A GOOD ARAB STATE.

VERBAL SUPPORT FOR SYRIA (E.G. ALSO BY MESHIRI

AT THE U.N.) IS FOR THE RECORD ONLY: AND THE

GENERAL ATTITUDE HERE IS ONE OF COMPLETE

ALOOFNESS AND DISENGAGEMENT. ALMOST DISINTEREST.

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

/Although

ALTHOUGH THE CRISIS IS RECEIVING FAIRLY FULL

PRESS COVERAGE THERE HAVE BEEN NO MANIFESTATIONS

OF ARAB SOLIDARITY. IN PARTICULAR THE STUDENTS

ARE QUIET. THE TOP BRASS OF THE TUNISIAN ARMY

WERE PRESENT IN FORCE AT AN AMERICAN AEROBATICS

DISPLAY ON 24 MAY WHICH THEY CERTAINLY WOULD NOT

HAVE BEEN HAD THERE BEEN ANY MILITARY ALERT.

F O PASS RABAT 11. SOSFA.

Presse arabe

"Al-Massâ" (indépendant) -- 28 et 29 mai 1967

Les crises que les peuples traversent de temps à autres nous permettent de discerner leurs amis de leurs ennemis. C'est ainsi que la crise actuelle du Moyen-Orient a permis aux pays arabes et à leurs dirigeants de mesurer le degré de sincérité de l'amitié de certaines puissances à leur égard.

Aussi profitons-nous de cette occasion pour condamner la politique des dirigeants de la Grande-Bretagne et des Etats-Unis, cette politique d'expansion coloniale qui vise notamment à frapper l'humanité en plein cœur, à étendre la domination sur les peuples et à s'ingérer dans les affaires intérieures d'Etats qui ont osé refuser la farine américaine et l'aide intéressée de la Grande-Bretagne.

Par la même occasion nous saluerons les peuples et les gouvernements des pays amis qui ont assuré les Arabes de leur aide et de leur appui et nous proclamerons la fierté que nous éprouvons à avoir pour amis l'Union soviétique, la Chine populaire et tous ces Etats qui ont soutenu et continuent à soutenir les causes de la liberté, de la libération et du juste combat.

L'estime que nous avons pour le peuple d'Amérique et pour celui de la Grande-Bretagne ne peut nous empêcher de crier la vérité à la face de leurs dirigeants et de condamner bien haut leurs idées impérialistes et colonialistes, ces idées qui ont été aussi funestes à leurs propres peuples qu'à tous les autres peuples de la terre. L'histoire en est témoin.

O.S. Ars 5.VI

N Dr 5/6

Presse arabe

"Al-An'bâ" (officieux)-- 28 et 29 mai 1967

(Manchette sur 8 colonnes)

Thant demande instamment que rien ne soit fait qui puisse augmenter l'acuité de la tension

Israël vit dans la peur et le désarroi...

Notre rédacteur politique écrit :

Tous les observateurs qui suivent de près la crise grave que traverse le Moyen-Orient s'accordent à reconnaître que les Israëliens se sont trompés dans leurs calculs en sous-estimant la solidarité qui s'est manifestée face au danger sioniste.

Devant la solidarité des pays arabes et le soutien international des amis des Arabes, les Israëliens vivent actuellement dans la peur et le désarroi, ne sachant comment combattre la crise qu'ils ont déclenchée eux-mêmes par leur menace flagrante contre la Syrie.

Le fait est que la crise continue à peser dangereusement sur l'Orient arabe tout entier et qu'aucun élément de détente n'est encore intervenu. On s'attend même qu'elle ne se dénouera que par l'éclatement d'Israël et par le retour du peuple palestinien dans sa patrie usurpée.

(...) Dans le rapport qu'il a publié hier sur son voyage au Caire, M. Thant, secrétaire général des Nations unies, a énuméré les causes de la crise, attiré l'attention sur sa gravité et demandé instamment à tous les Etats de ne rien faire qui puisse l'aggraver. Israël continue malgré tout à agiter des menaces et à déclarer qu'il forcera le blocus du golfe d'Akaba, et cela en dépit des conseils des Etats-Unis et de la Grande-Bretagne qui lui recommandent de ne pas précipiter les choses en ce domaine. Mais, comme il l'a déclaré, M. Dean Rusk considère que les Etats-Unis ne devraient pas prendre la responsabilité de contrecarrer les activités de l'une ou l'autre des deux parties. Autrement dit, les Etats-Unis ne feront rien pour empêcher les Israëliens de forcer le blocus du golfe d'Akaba, tout comme ils ne feront sans doute rien pour combattre ce blocus.

Cette nouvelle attitude des Etats-Unis, que l'on peut déduire de la déclaration du ministre américain des affaires étrangères, peut être considérée en réalité comme un échec pour les Israëliens. Elle est, sans aucun doute, imputable à la solidarité agissante et unanime par laquelle les pays arabes de toutes tendances ont fait face à cette crise grave. (...)

Note the moderation of this compared with the Opposition press

OCS/ARS 5.VI

1076

L'OPINION - SATURDAY 27 MAY

La libération de la Palestine et les grandes puissances

TOUTES les nations arabes considèrent que la libération de la Palestine est une nécessité qui s'impose pour instaurer une véritable paix dans le Proche-Orient.

Le maintien d'un million et demi de réfugiés dans la misère et les privations durant près de vingt ans constituera toujours un élément d'insécurité pour cette région du monde. Et depuis vingt ans, force nous est donnée de constater qu'aucune grande puissance n'est arrivée à faire accepter par Israël une solution qui respecte les droits légitimes de tout un peuple qui a été déraciné.

Le désespoir de ne pas faire admettre par des moyens pacifiques le droit naturel et légitime du peuple palestinien à recouvrer leur patrie devait fatalement faire de cette région une des régions les plus sensibilisées et devait donc fatalement provoquer ce que chacune des grandes puissances redoutait.

Dès lors, tenant compte de la volonté des Arabes à consacrer leur droit et à apporter leur soutien inconditionnel à un peuple spolié de sa patrie, certaines grandes puissances avaient, chacune, adopté une position qui diffère sensiblement de celle qu'elles avaient suivi lors du dernier conflit en 1956. Après l'attaque surprise d'Israël en 1956, la France et la Grande-Bretagne avaient secrètement encouragé l'initiative israélienne et l'ont assuré de leur appui total.

Ce sont les Etats-Unis et l'Union Soviétique qui, par leur ferme position avaient mis fin à cette agression israélienne qui, normalement devait dégénérer en une guerre dont les conséquences étaient redoutables.

L'action américaine et soviétique avaient apaisé les peuples arabes et y voyaient une forme de garantie de paix au Proche-Orient, ou tout au moins un frein aux visées expansionnistes d'Israël.

Entretemps survint la guerre du Vietnam et la scission sino-soviétique. Ces deux événements capitaux ont incontestablement bouleversé les données de la politique internationale.

L'action américaine au Vietnam est non seulement combattue par des pays épris de paix, mais même par ses alliés traditionnels et plus particulièrement la France. Ce pays, après avoir reconnu la Chine, avait condamné avec une extrême vigueur la guerre inhumaine qui déchire tout un peuple.

L'Union Soviétique, tout en proclamant officiellement son attachement à la cause du Vietnam du Nord, ne semble pas vouloir s'engager totalement et physiquement.

Et quand survint les actuels événements du Moyen-Orient, on a constaté que la France avait orienté différemment sa position à l'égard d'Israël pour tenter de désengager le Proche-Orient d'une issue fatale tandis que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique menacent les pays arabes par leur intervention pour protéger l'Etat d'Israël.

Si les sentiments de l'Union Soviétique ne semblent pas avoir changé à l'égard des pays arabes, il n'en reste pas moins que depuis 1956, aucune solution concrète et pacifique n'a été proposée pour résoudre le problème palestinien.

Par ailleurs on peut estimer que la Chine qui vient de proclamer officiellement sa solidarité à la cause des pays arabes, pèsera certainement pour amener les grandes puissances à trouver rapidement un remède à une situation qui ne pouvait s'éterniser.

C'est à cet effet, qu'il y a lieu de souhaiter que la proposition de la France qui semble ne pas vouloir prendre position sera suivie d'une action positive pour mettre fin à la situation déprimente et inhumaine de tout un peuple tout en évitant une guerre qui si elle est nécessaire n'est pas en tous cas souhaitable.

L'OPINION

AZS 1.VI

A.L. Smallman 2.VI

1076

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CONFIDENTIAL

OUTWARD SAVINGRAM

FROM ALGIERS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 30 MAY 1967.

By Bag

No. 4 SAVING
29 May, 1967.

Addressed to Foreign Office No. 4 Saving of 29 May
Repeated for information Saving to:-

Damascus No. 2
Beirut No. 2
Baghdad No. 1
Amman No. 1
Tel Aviv No. 1
Jedda No. 1
Kuwait No. 1
Bahrein No. 1
Aden No. 1
Cairo No. 5
Benghazi No. 1
Tripoli No. 1
Tunis No. 4
Rabat No. 2

Arab Socialist Seminar

The Seminar on Socialism in the Arab World took place in Algiers from 22 to 28 May.

2. Events in the Middle East overshadowed the proceedings and ritual denunciations of imperialism Sionism, etc., took up much of the time. But discussion appeared to be free (the rotation of the chair would have made it difficult to limit the delegates freedom); there was controversy both within and between delegations; and in general more sense seems to have emerged from the discussions than might have been expected. In his opening speech Boumedienne warned the delegates not to lose touch with reality, and to remember that the rural masses were the foundation of the Revolution. His own speech was however somewhat rambling although he appeared to come down in favour of a single form of socialism for all Arab States, rather than a "so-called diversity of socialisms". But he admitted that while the essence of socialism was unique there were many roads by which to arrive at it.

3. It is virtually impossible to summarise the proceedings. The most interesting item was the discussion on economic relations between developing countries and the "Socialist" States. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, who led the Algerian delegation, wound up the discussion by denouncing countries that accepted aid from the neo-Colonialists. He called on the "Socialist" countries to offer aid on an entirely new basis: otherwise solidarity that at present existed between the developing countries and the advanced Socialist countries would be called in question. (Fuller report in letter by bag, not to all.)

4. The final communiqué was almost wholly political. The opponents of Arab socialism were listed as imperialism, feudalism, the capitalist classes and the balkanisation of the Arab homeland. Imperialism was trying to lead a counter-revolution; and the United States (the only power mentioned by name) was the ringleader of a vast co-ordinated plot against the Revolution. Unity of thought and action would lead to the consolidation of the unity of the Arab progressive forces, and would be the instrument of the decisive Socialist revolution in each country and in the Arab world as a whole.

5. It was decided to set up a Permanent Committee in Algiers and

/Algeria

Algeria, Syria and the U.A.R. were entrusted with the preparation of the next Seminar, to be held in Damascus (no date fixed).

6. Two minor points of interest:-

(a) Cherif Belkacem, the Party Co-ordinator, took no part in the proceedings. The Senior Party representative involved was Salah Boubnider. This would seem to mark a further stage in the eclipse of Belkacem, though he has recently received visiting delegations and remains in circulation.

(b) The F.L.O.S.Y. delegation, led by Mackawee, was present only at the opening sessions (thereafter it toured the provinces) and played no part.

DAWBARN

1076

LE PETIT MAROCAIN - MONDAY 29 MAY

Arab-Israel dispute

RABAT, 28 mai (MAP). — « La situation est extrêmement grave, un conflit d'après des observateurs très bien informés est inévitable, dans l'immédiat ou dans une échéance plus ou moins longue », a déclaré M. Hadj Ahmed Balafrej, ministre représentant personnel de S.M. le Roi à son arrivée ce soir à Rabat, retour du Caire où il a remis un message personnel du souverain au président Nasser.

Interrogé sur l'attitude qu'adopterait le Maroc en cas de conflit armé au Moyen-Orient, M. Balafrej a déclaré : « le problème palestinien est un problème arabe, donc marocain. Notre solidarité est évidemment totale ».

Parlant de la situation au Moyen Orient, M. Balafrej a souligné qu'elle est grave. La tension est en hausse Le peuple de la République Arabe Unie est prêt à toute éventualité. Son enthousiasme est à son paroxisme Le président Nasser qui est en excellente forme, n'a pour objectif que d'effacer les séquelles de l'agression tripartite de 1956 ».

Retraçant l'histoire de la crise, le représentant personnel de SM le Roi a déclaré qu'Israel s'apprêtait à attaquer la Syrie. L'attaque était fixée au 17 mai. La réaction égyptienne a été immédiate malgré les différends qui opposaient le Caire à Damas.

MPP 1076

LA VIGIE - MONDAY 29 MAY

Arab-Israel dispute

M. Balafrej, représentant personnel de S.M. le Roi, a regagné hier le Maroc après sa mission au Caire.

Interrogé à son arrivée à Rabat sur l'attitude qu'adopterait le Maroc en cas de conflit armé au Moyen-Orient, M. Balafrej a déclaré :

« Le problème palestinien est un problème arabe, donc Marocain. Notre solidarité est évidemment totale ».

Parlant de la situation au Moyen-Orient, M. Balafrej a souligné qu'elle « est très grave. La tension est en hausse. Le peuple de la République arabe unie est prêt à toute éventualité. Son enthousiasme est à son paroxisme. Le président Nasser qui est en excellente forme, n'a pour objectif que d'effacer les séquelles de l'agression tripartite de 1956 ».

Retraçant l'historique de la crise, le représentant personnel de S.M. le Roi a déclaré qu'Israël s'apprêtait à attaquer la Syrie. L'attaque étai fixée au 17 mai. La réaction égyptienne a été immédiate malgré les différends qui opposaient Le Caire à Damas.

Quant au message que m'a confié S.M. le Roi, il a été accueilli par le président Nasser avec une grande satisfaction.

La RAU, a poursuivi M. Balafrej, n'entend pas voir se reproduire les mêmes circonstances de l'agression de 1956. C'est ainsi que le président Nasser m'a affirmé qu'il est fermement décidé à répondre à toute action agressive de la part d'Israël.

« Il m'a en outre exprimé sa satisfaction devant la solidarité témoignée par S.M. le Roi et le peuple marocain. Il m'a du reste confié un message que je dois remettre incessamment à Sa Majesté ».

La question de savoir si le président Nasser est en forme militairement, M. Balafrej a précisé : « Oui, surtout militairement ».

London Press Service
Verbatim Service

MIDDLE EAST : LORD CARADON IN UN SECURITY COUNCIL.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SPEECH BY LORD CARADON IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS ON MONDAY MAY TWENTYNINTH .

MR PRESIDENT. WHEN WE MET BRIEFLY AND INCONCLUSIVELY LAST WEEK I STATED THAT WE HAD FOUR QUESTIONS TO TACKLE TOGETHER.

FIRST, HOW CAN TENSION BE RELIEVED AND IMMEDIATE DANGERS OF CONFLICT REMOVED.

SECOND, HOW CAN THE RIGHTS OF FREE AND UNIMPEDED PASSAGE THROUGH THE STRAITS OF TIRAN BE GUARANTEED AND ASSURED.

AND THIRD, HOW CAN EFFECTIVE UNITED NATIONS MEASURES AND MACHINERY TO KEEP THE PEACE AND PREVENT VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT THROUGH THE WHOLE AREA BEST BE WORKED OUT FOR THE FUTURE.

AND, FOURTH, WHAT NEW AND ADDITIONAL ACTION CAN BE TAKEN TO PREVENT SUCH DANGERS TO THE PEACE RECURRING IN FUTURE YEARS.

I SAID THAT NO-ONE COULD DOUBT THE DANGER, AND NO-ONE COULD DOUBT THE URGENCY, AND I SPOKE OF THE CHALLENGE AND THE OPPORTUNITY WHICH FACED THE UNITED NATIONS.

THERE WERE THOSE WHO SOUGHT TO BELITTLE THE DANGER AND TO DOUBT THE URGENCY, WE WERE TOLD THAT WE WERE ARTIFICALLY DRAMATISING THE SITUATION, THAT THERE WAS NO NEED FOR THE COUNCIL TO MEET. WE WERE EVEN TOLD THAT NO SERIOUS INCIDENTS HAD BEEN REPORTED.

WE HAVE PRESSED FROM THE START THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD MEET AND ACT. OUR FIRST PURPOSE WAS TO SUPPORT THE SECRETARY GENERAL IN HIS MISSION TO CAIRO. BUT THERE WERE THOSE WHO MAINTAINED, AND THEIR ARGUMENTS PREVAILED, THAT WE SHOULD AWAIT THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT. AND NOW WE HAVE THAT REPORT. WE HAVE HAD AMPLE TIME TO STUDY IT. THE REPORT MORE THAN CONFIRMS BOTH THE DANGER AND THE URGENCY. IN FEARLESS LANGUAGE, ALL THE MORE FORCEFUL BY REASON OF ITS SIMPLICITY AND RESTRAINT, THE REPORT BOTH SHOWS THE IMMEDIATE DANGERS AND POINTS THE WAY TO THE ACTION WE MUST TAKE.

WE HAVE VERY GOOD REASON, AS WE EXPECTED, TO BE GRATEFUL TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL FOR HIS DECISION TO GO TO CAIRO AND FOR THE DESPATCH WITH WHICH HE COMPLETED HIS MISSION. WE ARE GRATEFUL TOO FOR THE SERVICE HE HAS DONE IN GIVING US SO SOON AFTER HIS RETURN FROM THAT EXACTING AND CRITICAL AND LONELY EXPEDITION A REPORT SO COMPELLING IN ITS STATEMENT OF THE DANGERS AND SO CONSTRUCTIVE IN ITS INDICATIONS OF THE ACTION REQUIRED.

THE REPORT IN CLEAR AND DIRECT WORDS TELLS US HOW THE SECRETARY GENERAL CALLED ATTENTION TO ''THE DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES WHICH WOULD ENSUE FROM RESTRICTING INNOCENT PASSAGE OF SHIPS IN THE STRAIT OF TIRAN'' AND EXPRESSED HIS DEEP CONCERN IN THIS REGARD THAT ''NO PRECIPITATE ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN'' AND WENT ON TO STATE THE FEAR THAT A CLASH BETWEEN THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC AND ISRAEL OVER THIS ISSUE WOULD INEVITABLY SET OFF, TO USE HIS WORDS, ''GENERAL CONFLICT IN THE NEAR EAST''.

...PTO

WE CANNOT FAIL IN THE LIGHT OF THAT WARNING TO CONCENTRATE FIRST AND FOREMOST ON THE VITAL NEED FOR FINDING A SOLUTION OF THE CRITICAL PROBLEM OF THE GULF OF AQABA. AND, AS I MADE CLEAR WHEN I SPOKE LAST WEEK, WE CONSIDER THAT THIS MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT NOT ONLY THE NORMAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE STATES BORDERING THE GULF BUT ALSO THE INTERESTS OF ALL MARITIME POWERS.

FROM THE FIRST MY GOVERNMENT HAS MADE ITS POSITION ON THAT MAIN ISSUE OF THE GULF OF AQABA ABSOLUTELY CLEAR. IT WAS STATED BY A REPRESENTATIVE OF MY COUNTRY TEN YEARS AGO IN THEVENERAL ASSEMBLY. IT HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED AND REPEATEDLY AND POSITIVELY CONFIRMED. IT IS IN THIS MAIN ISSUE THAT WE SHOULD FIRST ENSURE THAT BELLIGERENCE IS AVOIDED AND SPECIAL RESTRAINT EXERCISED.

BUT AS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ALSO EMPHASISED IN HIS REPORT THE FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION THROUGH THE STRAIT OF TIRAN IS NOT THE ONLY IMMEDIATE ISSUE WHICH IS ENDANGERING PEACE IN THE NEAR EAST. HE POINTS TO THE POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION WHICH COULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE REDUCTION OF TENSION.

HAVING URGED ALL CONCERNED ''TO EXERCISE SPECIAL RESTRAINT TO FOREGO BELLIGERENCE AND TO AVOID ALL OTHER ACTIONS WHICH COULD INCREASE TENSION'' THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TURNS TO PRACTICAL PROPOSALS, PROPOSALS TO REDUCE IMMEDIATE TENSION AND TO KEEP THE PEACE IN THE WHOLE AREA IN THE FUTURE. AND NOW WE MUST SURELY ENGAGE ON AN URGENT STUDY OF WAYS AND MEANS BY WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS CAN ASSIST IN ACHIEVING THOSE PURPOSES. AS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL SAYS WE MUST FILL THE VACUUM LEFT BY THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE. HE HAS PROPOSED FULL RECOURSE TO THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE MACHINERY STILL PRESENT AND AVAILABLE, SO THAT THERE CAN BE A CONTINUING AND EFFECTIVE UNITED NATIONS PRESENCE IN THE AREA. WE MUST PERSUADE THOSE DIRECTLY CONCERNED TO COOPERATE TO THE FULL. WE MUST BE READY TO CONSIDER NEW AND ORIGINAL METHODS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE POSSIBLE STEPS WHICH COULD BE TAKEN BY MUTUAL CONSENT TO WHICH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAS REFERRED IN HIS REPORT. WITHOUT THE POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS WE SHOULD BE LEFT WITH THE FUSES
STILL LIT WHICH AT ANY MOMENT COULD LEAD TO A SERIES OF EXPLOSIONS DOING IRREPARABLE DAMAGE. WE ARE READY AND EAGER TO WORK WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL AND WITH THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO FIND URGENT MEANS TO RESTORE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT.

MR. PRESIDENT, I TRUST THAT TODAY WE ALL REALISE THE EXTENT OF OUR OBLIGATION AND OUR OPPORTUNITY.

FOR TEN YEARS THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE SUCCESSFULLY PERFORMED **A MOST VALUABLE TASK.** ALL WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THAT SUCCESS **HAVE EARNED THE GRATITUDE** OF THE WORK IN PREVENTING BLOODSHED AND ENABLING THE PURSUIT OF PEACE TO GO FORWARD.

A SUPREME EFFORT IS NOW REQUIRED OF US TO SAVE THE SITUATION. SURELY ALL OF US, PERMANENT AND NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, MUST JOIN IN THAT EFFORT.

I MIGHT SAY THAT I TRUST THAT MY FRIEND THE DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE OF THE U.A.R. WILL ALSO CO-OPERATE IN THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION. I LISTENED WITH CLOSE AND RESPECTFUL ATTENTION TO THE SPEECH WHICH HE MADE TODAY. I AM DETERMINED THAT I SHALL SAY NO WORD WHICH SHALL INCREASE TENSION OR ANIMOSITY. WHEN WE HAVE STUDIED HIS SPEECH IT MAY BE THAT WE WOULD WISH TO MAKE SOME COMMENT ON HIS DETAILED STATEMENTS. I WOULD ONLY SAY NOW WITH RESPECT THAT I TRUST THAT THE SOMEWHAT MORE MODERATE TONE OF HIS SPEECH

...PTO

TODAY AS COMPARED WITH HIS SPEECH LAST WEEK MAY PERHAPS INDICATE SOME IMPROVEMENT IN THE GENERAL SITUATION.

THIS IS NO TIME FOR ANY OF US TO HOLD BACK. IT IS A TIME FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND INTERNATIONAL GOOD FAITH AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

FOR WE MUST ALL SURELY RECOGNISE THAT WHAT IS AT STAKE IS NOT ONLY THE PEACE OF THE NEAR EAST AND SAVING THE PEOPLES OF THE NEAR EAST FROM THE SCOURGE OF WAR. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE WORLD ORGANISATION WHICH WE ARE ALL PLEDGED TO SUPPORT IS AT STAKE. WE SEEK A SOLUTION COMPATIBLE WITH THE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF ALL NATIONS SINCE WE ARE ALL PLEDGED, TO USE THE WORDS OF THE CHARTER, TO DEFEND ''THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF NATIONS LARGE AND SMALL''. WE ARE PLEDGED TOO, AND AGAIN I USE THE WORDS OF THE CHARTER, ''TO ESTABLISH CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH JUSTICE AND RESPECT FOR THE OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM TREATIES AND OTHER SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW CAN BE MAINTAINED''. WE MUST BE READY TO WORK WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND WITH EACH OTHER IN MUTUAL RESPECT TO SAVE THE PEACE AND ACHIEVE A JUST SETTLEMENT AND RESTORE THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

THESE MUST BE OUR PURPOSES, AND FOR MY COUNTRY I SAY NOW THAT FROM THE FIRST WE HAVE SOUGHT TO WORK FOR A SOLUTION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THAT IS OUR PURPOSE NOW. WE TRUST THAT ALL WILL JOIN IN THAT INTERNATIONAL ENDEAVOUR. AND IF THEY DO, WE COULD EVEN AT THIS LATE HOUR TURN THE DANGERS OF UNTOLD BLOODSHED AND DISASTROUS CONFLICT WHICH WE FACE TODAY INTO A TRIUMPH FOR THE RULE OF REASON AND LAW. WE COULD TAKE TOGETHER A LONG STEP FORWARD TOWARDS THE CREATION OF A STABLE WORLD ORDER. ENDS

END VS 225/67 .. L.P.S ...

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Record of Conversation

Minutes.

When I called on him on 26 May, M. Larbi Bennani, the Head of the Middle East Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told me that the Moroccan position was one of complete support for the U.A.R. and the other Arab States in the event of conflict with Israel, and that this was well known. This related, however, to a straightforward conflict between the Arabs and Israel. If outside powers became involved Morocco would have to consider her position very carefully in the light of the situation. He did not know the precise content of the message which King Hassan had sent to President Nasser by hand of M. Balafrej. I outlined to him H.M.G.'s position as set out in Guidance No. 115.

(J. H. Lewen)
30 May, 1967

H.E. 31/V
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M.F.P

MAR-82.

-LA GRANDE BRETAGNE ET LE BLOCUS D'AKABA
-D'ABORD TROUVER UNE SOLUTION DIPLOMATIQUE-

LONDRES, 30 MAI.-(MAP).- QUELQUES MINUTES APRES QUE M. BROWN, CHEF DU FOREIGN OFFICE AIT DISCUTE AVEC LES AMBASSADEURS DES ETATS UNIS ET DES AUTRES PAYS ~~INTERESSES~~ PAR LA NAVIGATION DANS LE GOLF D'AKABA, LE CABINET BRITANNIQUE S'EST REUNI SOUS LA PRESIDENCE DE M. WILSON, QUI RENCONTRERA PROCHAINEMENT LE PRESIDENT JOHNSON AINSI QUE LE PREMIER MINISTRE CANADIEN.-

DE SOURCE BIEN INFORMEE, ON DECLARE, QUE LE PREMIER MINISTRE BRITANNIQUE A RENOUVELE SON'' INTENTION FERME DE FAIRE RESPECTER LE DROIT DE TOUS LES NAVIRES BRITANNIQUES A FRANCHIR LE DETROIT DE TIRAN ET A NAVIGUER DANS LE GOLFE D'AKABA.''

'' POUR CE FAIRE, LA GRANDE BRETAGNE'' EST PRETE A LANCER ET A SOUTENIR UNE ACTION INTERNATIONALE AYANT POUR BUT DE MAINTENIR LA LIBERTE DE PASSAGE''.

'' ON PRECISE DANS LES MILIEUX BIEN INFORMES QUE MM. WILSON ET BROWN INFORMERONT LE PARLEMENT BRITANNIQUE DE CETTE DECISION.

'' CEPENDANT, INDIQUE UN PORTE-PAROLE' ''POUR L'INSTANT LE GOUVERNEMENT BRITANNIQUE S'EFFORCE DE TROUVER UNE SOLUTION DIPLOMATIQUE A LA CRISE AU MOYEN ORIENT''.(MAP).-

AA/DD/++++++1BH05+++++++++

CV

-110

LE DR. LARAKI RECOIT L'AMBASSADEUR DE LA RFA A RABAT.

RABAT 30 MAI (MAP).- LE DR. AHMED LARAKI, MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES A RECU AUJOURD'HUI M. HEINZ VOIGT, AMBASSADEUR DE LA REPUBLIQUE FEDERALE D'ALLEMAGNE A RABAT.

L'ENTRETIEN A PORTE SUR LA POSITION DU GOUVERNEMENT DE SM LE ROI FACE A LA SITUATION ACTUELLE AU MOYEN ORIENT ET AU DANGER SIONISTE.

LE DR. LARAKI A FAIT PART A L'AMBASSADEUR OUEST-ALLEMAND, DU DESIR DU GOUVERNEMENT DE SM LE ROI DE VOIR LE GOUVERNEMENT DE LA RFA ADOPTER UNE POSITION DE NEUTRALITE QUANT A LA SITUATION ACTUELLE AU MOYEN ORIENT. (MAP)

OA/LK/++++++++++++++++21H00++++++++

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MAP 63

'' URGENT ''

LE MAROC MET A LA DISPOSITION DE LA RAU DES UNITES DES FAR

(COMPLETE NOTRE URGENT 62

RABAT 30 MAI (MAP).-LE CABINET ROYAL COMMUNIQUE :

'' D'ORDRE DE S.M. LE ROI, M. DRISS M'HAMMEDI, DIRECTEUR GENERAL DU CABINET ROYAL A RECU S.E. L'AMBASSADEUR DE LA REPUBLIQUE ARABE UNIE, M. HASSAN FAHMI ABDELMAJID ET LUI A FAIT PART DE LA DECISION DE SM LE ROI DE METTRE A LA DISPOSITION DU COMMANDEMENT ARABE UNIFIE ET DE LA REPUBLIQUE ARABE UNIE DES UNITES DES FORCES ARMEES ROYALES ET CE, DANS LE CADRE DE LA SOLIDARITE ARABE, ET DE L'APPUI AFFIRMES DANS LE COMMUNIQUE DIFFUSE HIER SOIR.-

'' CETTE AUDIENCE S'EST DEROULEE EN PRESENCE DE M. HADJ AHMED BALAFREJ, MINISTRE REPRESENTANT PERSONNEL DE SM LE ROI ET DU DR. AHMED LARAKI, MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES ET M. MOHAMED CHERKAOUI , MINISTRE DE LA DEFENSE NATIONALE .'' (MAP)

MO/CRW.++++++++++++ 13£30.++++++++++

MAP-62

' ' ' URGENT ' ' '

RABAT, 30 MAI (MAP).- LE MAROC MET A LA DISPOSITION DU COMMANDE-
MENT ARABE UNIE DES UNITES DES FORCES ARMEES ROYALES POUR REPOUS-
SER TOUT CONFLIT D'ISRAEL.(MAP)+

(DVT SUIVRA)

AA/CR.++++++++ 13£20.++++++

MAP 86

URGENT

M. BALAFREJ: " UN CONFLIT AU MOYEN ORIENT PARAIT INEVITABLE ".

RABAT, 28 MAI-(MAP)- " LA SITUATION EST EXTREMEMENT GRAVE. UN CONFLIT D'APRES DES OBSERVATEURS TRES BIEN INFORMES EST INEVITABLE, DANS L'IMMEDIAT OU DANS UNE ECHEANCE PLUS OU MOINS LONGUE " A DECLARE M. AHDJ AHMED BALAFREJ, MINSTRE REPRESENTANT PERSONNEL DE SM LE ROI A SON ARRIVEE CE SOIR A RABAT, RETOUR DU CAIRE OU IL A REMIS UN MESSAGE PERSONNEL DU SOUVERAIN AU PRESIDENT NASSER.(MAP)-

(A SUIVRE)

AA/FA/MK++++++21H35++++++

MAP 88 ' ' ' URGENT ' '

M. BALAFREJ...(DEUX)...

INTERROGE SUR L'ATTITUDE QU'ADOPTERAIT LE MAROC EN CAS DE CONFLIT ARME AU MOYEN-ORIENT, M. BALAFREJ A DECLARE:'' LE PROBLEME PALESTINIEN EST UN PROBLEME ARABE, DONC MAROCIN. NOTRE SOLIDARITE EST EVIDEMMENT TOTALE''.

PARLANT DE LA SITUATION AU MOYEN ORIENT, M. BALAFREJ A SOULIGNE QU'ELLE'' EST TRES GRAVE. LA TENSION EST EN HAUSSE. LE PEUPLE DE LA REPUBLIQUE ARABE UNIE EST PRET A TOUTE EVENTUALITE. SON ENTHOUSIASME EST A SON PAROXIME. LE PRESIDENT NASSER QUI EST EN EXCELLENTE FORME,, N'A POUR OBJECTIF QUE D'EFFACER LES SEQUELLES DE L'AGRESSION TRIPARTITE DE 1956.''

RETRACANT L'HISTORIQUE DE LA CRISE, LE REPRESENTANT PERSONNEL DE SM LE ROI A DECLARE QU'ISRAEL S'APPRETAIT A ATTAQUER LA SYRIE. L'ATTAQUE ETAIT FIXEE AU 17 MAI. LA REACTION EGYPTIENNE A ETE IMMEDIATE MALGRE LES DIFFERENDS QUI OPPOSAIENT LE CAIRE A DAMAS. (MAP)-

(A SUIVRE)

AA/FA/MK+++++

MAP 89

M. BALAFREJ...(TROIS)...

'' QUANT AU MESSAGE QUE M'A CONFIE SM LE ROI IL A ETE ACCUEILLI PAR LE PRESIDENT NASSER AVEC UNE GRANDE SATISFACTION.

'' LA RAU, A POURSUIVI M. BALAFREJ, N'ENTEND PAS VOIR SE REPRODUIRE LES MEMES CIRCONSTANCES DE L'AGRESSION DE 1956. C'EST AINSI QUE LE PRESIDENT NASSER M'A AFFIRME QU'IL EST FERMEMENT DECIDE A REPONDRE A TOUTE ACTION AGRESSIVE DE LA PART D'ISRAEL.

'' IL M'A EN OUTRE EXPRIME SA SATISFACTION DEVANT LA SOLIDARITE TEMOIGNEE PAR LE ROI ET LE PEUPLE MAROCAIN. IL M'A DU RESTE CONFIE UN MESSAGE QUE JE DOIS REMETTRE INCESSAMENT A SM LE ROI''.

A LA QUESTION DE SAVOIR SI LE PESIDENT NASSER EST'' EN FORME'' MILITAIREMENT, M. BALAFREJ A PRECISE:'' OUI, SURTOUT MILITAIREMENT''. (MAP)-

(A SUIVRE)

AA/FA/MK++++++

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MAP 90

M. BALAFREJ...(QUATRE)...

LE REPRESENTANT PERSONNEL DE SM LE ROI HASSAN II A ETE ACCUEILLI A SA DESCENTE D'AVION PAR MM. HASSAN FAHMI ABDELMAJID, AMBASSADEUR DE LA RAU A RABAT, MEHDI BEN BOUCHTA, SECRETAIRE D'ETAT A LA JEUNESSE ET LES SPORTS AUPRES DU PREMIER MINISTRE ET MINISTRE DE L'INFORMATION PAR INTERIM, HADJ AHMED BENNANI, LE DR. M'HAMED BENBOUCHAIB, GOUVERNEUR DE LA PREFECTURE DE RABAT-SALE ET SON ADJOINT, HADJ MOHAMED ZEBDI, ABDELFATAH HARAKAT, AMBASSADEUR DIRECTEUR DE LA DIVISION PRESSE ET INFORMATION AU MINISTERE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES, BENNANI-SMIRES, DIRECTEUR DU PROTOCOLE AU MEME DEPARTEMENT, ET PAR PLUSIEURS PERSONNALITES PARENTS AMIS, ET PROCHES COLLABORATEURS DE M. BALAFREJ.(MAP)-

FA/AA/MK ++1OH05+++++

TELEGRAM

SAVING

~~Cypher~~ ~~code~~ ~~en clair~~

From :— **RABAT** *To :—* **FOREIGN OFFICE**

Despatched Received

No. **Saving No. 7** of **30 May, 1967.**

UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 7 Saving of 30 May.

Repeated for information Saving to Cairo, Washington and Paris.

My telegram No. 159 of 26 May. Middle East Situation.

The semi-official newspaper Al-Anbaa on 25 May published an editorial on the Middle East situation in which it made the following points:

a) Morocco believes in the justice of the Arab cause.

b) Morocco is willing to go through with the battle of liberation, confident in the outcome.

c) Moroccan attitude is based on the immutable principles of the defence of Arab rights, the annihilation of Zionist aggression and the need for the Arabs to rise up as one man to liberate Palestine.

d) The Middle East will never know stability as long as the monstrous state of Israel exists in its midst.

e) The myth of the survival of Israel is as insubstantial as a dream.

HOLLIDAY

Wt.51907 Dd.D327 30M 12/60 LP235

1076

LE PETIT MAROCAIN - TUESDAY 30 MAY

S. M. LE ROI : SOUTIEN LE PLUS EFFECTIF DU MAROC A LA R.A.U.

FES, 29 mai (d.no.p.). — Le cabinet royal communique :

S.M. le roi a reçu cet après-midi, au palais royal de Fès, M. Hadj Ahmed Balafrej, représentant personnel de S.M. le roi.

Au cours de cette audience, M. Balafrej a rendu compte à S.M. le roi de la mission dont il avait été chargé auprès du président de la R.A.U., M. Gamal Abdel Nasser, des responsables égyptiens et du secrétaire général de la Ligue Arabe.

Assistaient à cette audience, M. Driss M'Hammedi, directeur général du cabinet royal, Moulay Ahmed Laraki, ministre des Affaires étrangères, M. Cherkaoui, ministre de la Défense Nationale, Moulay Ahmed Alaoui, ministre du Commerce, de l'Artisanat, de l'Industrie et des Mines, le général Oufkir, ministre de l'Intérieur, M. Benhima, ministre des Travaux publics, M. Mehdi Ben Bouchta, secrétaire d'Etat à la Jeunesse et aux Sports auprès du Premier ministre et ministre de l'Information par intérim.

Après l'exposé de M. Balafrej, S.M. le roi a donné ses instructions aux ministres présents, afin que toutes les dispositions soient prises pour qu'en cas d'agression sioniste, le Maroc apporte son soutien le plus effectif à la R.A.U.

Rappelons par ailleurs que M. Balafrej avait été chargé par S.M. le roi d'une mission auprès du président Nasser.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

CONFIDENTIAL.

Minutes

Ahmed Balafrej's Mission to Cairo, and Morocco's attitude towards Middle East Events.

During the week end I have had an opportunity of discussing the above with a number of responsible Moroccans who threw a light on the background of the mission in question.

In Morocco's view a major factor in the present conflagration is Jamal Abdul Nasser's wish to come back to the forefront as the sole Arab leader, after having suffered some set backs in Yemen and after ceasing to be in the head lines of late - a thing he cannot tolerate.

He, therefore, agitated rumours of an impending attack on Syria although Israel's real intention might have been just to put an end to commando intrusion. Then he sent messages only to countries he considered as "liberal" - naturally leaving out Arab Kingdoms and Tunisia but of course including Algeria. He wanted to hit two birds with one stone and represent the above as "reactionary", pro-Western and pro-colonial countries who were not interested in the "sublime Arab cause".

The King frustrated this latter intention by sending Balafrej to put Morocco right in the picture. The expression of solidarity was "in case of an Israeli attack", to call Abdul Nasser's bluff, if things will amount to just that. If things will get out of hand and Abdul Nasser's megalomania will lead to an armed conflict, which Morocco at the moment thinks improbable, then an attitude will have to be decided so that Morocco might not be regarded as out of line with Arabs, which Abdul Nasser would love to do. Already he has done the mischief of arousing some Moroccan people's sentiments and enthusiasm, and the King will have to be very careful so as not to fall into the Nasseri trap.

A. Hassar
30/5/1967.

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H [illegible] 30/5
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43715 (7213) A.O.St.

CONFIDENTIAL.

1076.

TELEGRAM

~~Cypher~~ ~~code~~ en clair

From :— RABAT *To :—* FOREIGN OFFICE

Despatched 30 May 1967 Received

No. 161 of 30 May 1967

UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to Foreign Office tel.No. 161 of 30 May.
Rfi to Cairo (3), Amman (2), Jedda (2), Damascus (2), Tel Aviv (2), Tripoli (10), Benghazi (10), Tunis (8), Algiers (9), Baghdad (1), Beirut (2), Khartoum (1), Kuweit (1), Washington (5), Paris (5), Moscow (1), Jerusalem (1).

My telegram No. 152 (not to all).

An official communiqué of 29 May states that after hearing M. Balafrej's report of his visit to Cairo, King Hassan has ordered all necessary steps to be taken to give effective support to the United Arab Republic in the event of Israeli aggression.

2. A subsequent communiqué states that by the King's command the Director General of the Royal Cabinet has informed the UAR Ambassador that in this context and that of Arab solidarity His Majesty has decided to place units of the Moroccan Armed Forces at the disposal of the United Arab Command and of the United Arab Republic.

HOLLIDAY.

Wt.36939 Dd.160 (in 2 sorts) 8/60 LP2920

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

CONFIDENTIAL

Minutes

Record of Conversation

My German colleague telephoned yesterday afternoon to ask whether I had been summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with the Middle East crisis. I said I had not and when he said that he had been I suggested we should meet.

2. I saw him this morning and he told me that he had been summoned to see the Foreign Minister at noon yesterday. The Minister had given a brief definition of Moroccan policy, which he defined as one of complete solidarity with the rest of the Arab world in the event of a conflict with Israel. The Minister drew the Ambassador's attention to the fact that this solidarity had been re-established by, for example, the statement of President Bourguiba and the visit of King Hussein to Cairo, from which he expected that a statement of common purpose would emerge. The Minister had then expressed the hope that in the event of a conflict the Federal Republic would remain neutral. Herr Voigt had reminded him of statements made by his Government defining their position as between Israel and the Arab world. The Minister had countered by saying that he had noted a recent German statement in support of free navigability of the Straits of Tiran and had wondered whether this implied German support for Israel. Herr Voigt I gathered had pooh-poohed this suggestion. The Ambassador told me that the Minister's attitude had differed from that of the Under-Secretary, M. Chorfi, whom he had seen last week at the beginning of the crisis. M. Chorfi had speculated at that time as to whether Nasser's objective was Israel or Jordan and had commented bitterly on the dangerous role of Shuqairi. We agreed that the subsequent achievement of at least an appearance of Arab unity probably explained the change in the Moroccan attitude since that unity was the principal objective of Moroccan policy.

(L.G. Holliday)
31 May 1967

1/6

CONFIDENTIAL

43715 (7213) A.O.St.

Effects of the Middle East Crisis on Morocco.

1. FAR units at the disposal of the UAR.

The general feeling is that, if necessary, a battalion may be sent. But Morocco is already short of troops in the present situation where she is having trouble with all her neighbours. The unit will probably only be sent to the Middle East in the event of an Israeli attack. The whole thing is a gesture ~~only~~ to show solidarity. There is no question of mobilisation and Gen Driss, more on a visit to the USA, looks like staying there.

2. Frontier Situation

By contrast, Algeria is going ahead with the despatch of troops, attack or no attack. All eyes are now on the Middle East; ah emphasis is 'an

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Dir. Rel.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

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Arab unity. It is therefore unlikely that Algeria would cause trouble on the Moroccan frontier at this time. ~~Later however~~ when all is ready, If Nasser is successful in destroying Israel, Algerian morale will be high and they may be a slightly greater possibility of Algerian military action against Morocco. But in my view the Algerians are interested only in holding what they have, until such time as they feel that they can topple Hassan by a military threat. Undoubtedly Russia is the key to the situation.

A J Macdonald
Dr Roc

31 May.

DA.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

1076

TELEGRAM

~~Cypher~~ ~~code~~ en clair

From :— RABAT *To :—* FOREIGN OFFICE

Despatched 31 May 1967 Received

No. 162 of 31 May 1967

UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to Foreign Office tel. No. 162 of 31 May.
Rfi to Cairo (4), Amman (3), Jedda (3), Damascus (3), Tel Aviv (3), Tripoli (11), Benghazi (11), Tunis (9), Algiers (10), Baghdad (2), Beirut (3), Khartoum (2), Kuwait (2), Washington (6), Paris (6), Moscow (2) and Jerusalem (2).

My tel. No. 161.

On 30 May King Hassan addressed a letter to all Arab heads of state proposing the urgent convening of an Arab League Summit Conference, or failing that a conference of Heads of Government to discuss the situation in the Middle East and take the necessary measures and collective decisions to repulse any aggression. The letter stressed that in the face of threats of aggression the time had come for Arabs to sink their differences and form a united front.

2. The King has also sent separate messages of congratulation to President Nasser and King Hussein on the signature of the treaty of mutual defence between the UAR and Jordan, stressing its importance as proof of Arab unity in the face of danger and as a step towards the achievement of common Arab aims, particularly the liberation of Palestine. The messages reaffirm the complete solidarity of Morocco with the other Arab countries.

HOLLIDAY.

Wt.36939 Dd.160 (in 2 sorts) 6/60 LP3320

(1076/67)

TELEGRAM

Cypher [redacted] [redacted]

From:— RABAT *To:*— FOREIGN OFFICE

Despatched Received

No. 164 of 31 May, 1967.

PRIORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 164 of 31 May. Repeated for information to Washington, Paris, Cairo, Tel Aviv, Amman, and Saving to Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis, Benghazi, Khartoum, Jedda, Damascus, Baghdad, Kuwait, Jerusalem, MOSCOW 3

Moroccan Policy in Middle East Crisis.

King Hassan has, of course, no desire to become involved in Middle East hostilities (his chief preoccupations are nearer home), and in particular he has made a sustained effort since the Casablanca summit to avoid taking sides between the revolutionary and non-revolutionary Arab states. At the same time, for domestic political reasons, he could not afford to appear indifferent to a supposed threat of Israeli aggression against any Arab State.

2. His first move, during the phase when the tension appeared confined to U.A.R., Syria and Israel, was therefore, to play for time by sending Balafrej to see Nasser. First pronouncement after former's return was still cautiously confined to assurances of unspecified "effective support" and was limited to the event of Israeli aggression. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs told us that if outside powers became involved Morocco would have to reconsider her position. My German colleague was told by Under Secretary that limitation was intended also to exclude a commitment to support Shukairy's activities or any action against Jordan). Subsequent vague offer of armed support was subject to the same limitation and was made "in the context of Arab solidarity", i.e. subject to the achievement of a united Arab front. (My Defence Attache understands that at most a battalion might be made available). This was followed up by a

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characteristic Hassan proposal for an Arab summit meeting (which might wrest the crisis from the exclusive control of Nasser). Announcement of agreement between Hussein and Nasser was warmly welcomed since it made it safe to assume that Moroccan support for the latter would not be resented by the former.

3. Hassan's main problem is to avoid getting hurt in the inter-Arab struggle for power. Israel is of secondary importance. I expect effective support to Nasser to be kept to a strict minimum.

4. Press of all shades of opinion has made routine attacks on United States and United Kingdom for alleged support of Israel but this has not been reflected in any pronouncement by the Government which is naturally anxious not to antagonise Western sources of aid. Foreign Minister summoned my German colleagues to appeal for German neutrality in the event of conflict and when my U.S. colleague called to see him he was asked to urge his Government to avoid any provocative action but not subjected to any criticism.

5. Though U.M.T. are considering demonstrations in Casablanca and Guards have been posted outside Western Consulates-General, situation is calm. King remains in Fez.

HOLLIDAY

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

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Minutes

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Record of Conversation

I called on the U.S. Ambassador at my request to discuss the Middle East crisis. Mr. Tasca was even more than usually confused or confusing.

2. His call on the Foreign Minister last Friday had been at his request, to discuss Moroccan-Senegalese relations but these had been relegated to second place and the Minister had talked chiefly about the Middle East crisis. The Minister had stressed that the Moroccan Government were doing everything in their power to take the sting out of the crisis both at home and abroad. Comment over R.T.M. for example was being strictly censored. Balafrej had been sent to Cairo so as to maintain such contact with Nasser as would enable King Hassan to have a continuing influence. Mr. Tasca assured me that there had been no criticism of American policies though the Minister had urged the U.S. Government not to try to force the blockade. This was the kind of act Nasser was hoping for. It would make him a universal hero in the Arab world.

3. The point which my U.S. colleague himself seemed most anxious to make was to stress the value of the Moroccan suggestion of an Arab summit. Of all the Arab countries Morocco was perhaps the best placed to lower the temperature and the only one from whom moderate suggestions might be listened to. Mr. Tasca also stressed the importance of keeping the Moroccan Government fully informed on all Western declarations of policy. He had found by experience that the Foreign Ministry tended to act far too much on scrappy and inaccurate news reports.

(L.G. Holliday)
31 May 1967

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UNION NATIONALE DES FORCES POPULAIRES

الإتحاد الوطني للقوات الشعبية

NATIONAL UNION OF POPULAR FORCES

SECRETARIAT GENERAL — الكتابة العامة

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COMMUNIQUE DU SECRETARIAT-GENERAL DE L'UNION NATIONALE DES FORCES POPULAIRES SUR LE PROBLEME DE PALESTINE

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Le Scrétariat-Général de l'Union Nationale des Forces Populaires s'est réuni en séance spéciale le jeudi 25 mai afin d'étudier le développement de la situation au Moyen Orient, du fait de la menace de guerre proclamée par les sionistes et encouragée par le gouvernement impérialiste des Etats Unis d'Amérique.

Au nom de tous les militants et des masses laborieuses marocaines, l'UNFP adresse tout d'abord ses felicitations fraternelles et chaleureuses aux valeureuses armées de la République Arabe Unie et de la République Arabe Syrienne, qui ont su faire face avec courage et fermeté à la menace de guerre sioniste et impérialiste. Le Parti proclame sa solidarité entière et agissante avec les peuples arabes frères.

L'UNFP donne son appui total aux mesures légitimes prises par la République Arabe Unie et visant à interdire aux navires israéliens le passage par le golfe d'Akaba, qui fait partie intégrante des eaux territoriales arabes suivant le Droit International. Elle dénie aux impérialistes, protecteurs

70, Avenue Allal B. Abdallah - B. P. 747 - Casablanca - Tél: 220-60 : ٧٠ ، شارع علال بن عبد الله ــ ص.ب : ٧٤٧ ، الدار البيضاء ــ التليفون

de l'agression sioniste le droit de parler du Droit International ou de la Morale Internationale.

Enfin, l'UNFP déclare de façon solennelle que le peuple marocain dans son unanimité, considère le problème palestinien comme une question qui le concerne directement et personnellement, au même titre que toutes les Nations arabes et musulmanes. Le peuple marocain est prêt à verser son sang, au premier rang, parmi les combattants arabes, et à assumer tous les sacrifices, afin que triomphe la cause sacrée de la Palestine arabe. L'UNFP attend que le pouvoir marocain définisse clairement sa position, et ouvre officiellement la voie aux légions de volontaires marocains, qui déjà se manifestent spontanément par milliers et qui veulent se joindre aux glorieuses armées arabes, afin d'accomplir leur devoir.

Casablanca, le 25 mai 1967.

الكتابة العامة
U. N. F. P.

LE PETIT MARCCAIN - WEDNESDAY 31 MAY

Arab-Israel dispute

RABAT, 30 Mai (MAP). — Dans une lettre adr cessée ce soir par SM Hassan II à tous les rois et présidents arabes, le souverain propose une réunion a u sommet des pays de la ligue arabe de toute urgence afin d'étudier la situation actuelle au Moyen-Orient et de prendre les mesures nécessaires et des décisions collectives pour pallier toute agression. Dans cette let tre, SM le roi souligne que du fait de la solidarité agissante de tous les pays arabes face aux menaces d'a gression, le moment est venu d'oublier les querelles et de former un front uni.

Le souverain propose, qu'à défaut d'une réunion au sommet, les chefs de gouvernements arabes pourraient se réunir dans les plus brefs délais.

La lettre a été remise cet après-midi par le Dr Ahmed Laraki, ministre des Affaires étrangères aux ambassadeurs arabes accrédités à Rabat, et a été éga lement adressée au secrétariat général de la ligue arabe

Dans les milieux diplomatiques arabes à Rabat, on a accueilli avec satisfaction cette proposition maro. caine, qui est considérée comme une contribution effec tive et efficace pour l'unité des rangs arabes.

LE PETIT MAROCAIN - WEDNESDAY 31 MAY

L'AMBASSADEUR DE LA R.A.U. A RABAT INFORME DE LA DECISION ROYALE PAR M. DRISS M'HAMMEDI

RABAT, 30 mai (MAP). — Le Cabinet royal communique : « D'ordre de S.M. le Roi, M. Driss M'Hammedi, directeur général du Cabinet royal a reçu S.E. l'ambassadeur de la République Arabe Unie, M. Hassan Fahmi Abdelmajid et lui a fait part de la décision de S.M. le Ro de mettre à la disposition du commandement arabe unifié e' de la République Arabe Unie des unités des Forces Armées Royales et ce, dans le cadre de la solidarité arabe, et de l'appui affirmés dans le commun qué diffusé hier soir.

« Cette audience s'est déroulée en présence de M. Hadj Ahmed Balafrej, ministre représentant personnel de S.M. le Roi et du Dr Ahmed Laraki, ministre des Affaires étrangères et M. Mohammed Cherkaoui, ministre de la Défense nationale.

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LE PETIT MAROCAIN - WEDNESDAY 31 MAY

Félicitations de S.M. le Roi au Président Nasser et au Roi Hussein

RABAT, 30 Mai (MAP). — SM le roi a adressé deux messages de félicitations à SM le roi Hussein Ier de Jordanie et au président Nasser leur exprimant sa joie à l'issue de la signature de l'accord de défense mutuelle, intervenu aujourd'hui entre les deux pays.

Voici le texte intégral du message adressé au président Nasser :

« Nous avons appris avec une joie et une fierté profondes la nouvelle de la signature d'un traité de défense mutuelle, entre la République Arabe Unie et le royaume hachémite de Jordanie.

« Ce traité historique, réalisé dans des circonstances cruciales de la vie de la nation arabe, est une preuve formelle des liens profonds, du destin commun et de l'unité des rangs, existant entre les pays arabes, particulièrement devant un danger immédiat.

« Nous voyons dans cet accord une heureuse augure et un grand pas vers la réalisation complète de l'unité arabe, dans son action, ses objectifs et ses aspirations, avec en premier lieu la libération de la Palestine et sa réintégration au sein de la nation arabe.

« En cette heureuse occasion, nous vous exprimons, en notre nom personnel et en celui du peuple marocain et de notre gouvernement, nos sincères félicitations.

« Nous vous réaffirmons notre solidarité entière avec vos prises de positions courageuses, ainsi que la détermination de notre pays de se tenir aux côtés des pays arabes frères ».

Voici le texte intégral du message adressé au roi Hussein :

« Dans les circonstances critiques et décisives que vit actuellement notre nation arabe nous avons appris avec une extrême satisfaction et une grande joie l'annonce de la signature par votre Majesté et SE notre frère le président Gamal Abdel Nasser, du traité de défense mutuelle entre les deux pays frères, le royaume de Jordanie et la République Arabe Unie.

« Cet accord historique réaffirme de manière irréfutable tous les liens qui unissent les enfants de la nation arabe liens profonds, cimentant leur avenir chaque fois qu'un danger survient.

« Nous vous exprimons en notre nom personnel et au nom du peuple marocain et de son gouvernement nos sincères félicitations pour ce pas bénéfique que nous considérons comme une heureuse augure qui unit les rangs et les objectifs, et entraîne la marche collective pour la réalisation des aspirations de la nation arabe, avec comme premier but le retour de la Palestine usurpée.

« Nous vous réafirmons notre solidarité entière et la détermination totale de notre pays de mener cette lutte décisive aux côtés des pays arabes frères ».

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VERBATIM SERVICE 226/67 WEDNESDAY 31ST MAY 1967.

MIDDLE EAST: STATEMENT BY FOREIGN SECRETARY IN HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FOLLOWING IS VERBATIM TEXT OF STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MR GEORGE BROWN, OPENING A DEBATE ON THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TODAY, WEDNESDAY THIRTYFIRST MAY NINETEENSIXTYSEVEN:

MR. BROWN: FOR MOST OF WHAT I HAVE TO SAY, AND NO DOUBT IN THE DEBATE WHICH WILL FOLLOW, WE SHALL OF COURSE BE DISCUSSING THE SITUATION BETWEEN THE ARAB COUNTRIES AND ISRAEL. BUT I WANT RIGHT AT THE START TO REMIND THE HOUSE THAT THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC INTERESTS OF TOO MANY COUNTRIES ARE INVOLVED IN THE MIDDLE EAST FOR IT TO BE OTHER THAN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR A WAR WHICH EVER GOT STARTED IN THAT AREA TO BE CONFINED TO THE COUNTRIES IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED.

IF WE ARE TO GET THE PRESENT ARAB/ISRAEL CRISIS IN PERSPECTIVE WE MUST SEE IT IN A WIDER CONTEXT.

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, IT IS INDEED TRUE THAT THIS GREATER RISK OF WAR WHICH WE FACE TODAY STEMS NOT SO MUCH FROM ANY INCREASED ENMITY BETWEEN ISRAEL AND HE ARAB STATES - BAD THOUGH THAT IS; NOT SO MUCH FROM ANY FAILURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS, PRECIPITOUSLY WITHDRAWING THE UNITED NATIONS FORCE, BUT FROM THE FACT THAT INTO THIS AREA OVER QUITE SOME TIME NOW THERE HAVE BEEN POURING VAST QUANTITIES OF GUNS, ARMOUR AND AIRCRAFT, NOT FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE LOCAL CONFLICTS WITHIN THE AREA, BUT FOR PURPOSES OF CHANGING THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER.

THAT IS WHY IT MUST BE THE BASIS OF WHAT I HAVE TO SAY, THAT EVEN THOUGH WE ARE NOW TALKING MAINLY ABOUT THE ARAB - ISRAEL DISPUTE, AND WAYS OF PREVENTING THAT FLARING UP, IT WOULD BE A BOLD MAN WHO WOULD SAY THAT JUST TO SETTLE TODAY'S IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS WOULD REMOVE THE CONTINUING RISKS OF WAR IN THAT AREA.

HAVING SAID THAT, AND DESPITE THE STARTLING SUDDENNESS WITH WHICH THE CRISIS BLEW UP, BEHIND IT THERE IS THE INTRACTABLE AND LONG-STANDING DISPUTE BETWEEN THE ARAB COUNTRIES AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

IT IS TWENTY YEARS SINCE THE UNITED NATIONS FIRST TRIED TO TACKLE THIS PROBLEM. DESPITE MANY EFFORTS IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO FIND A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT: BUT EVEN SO IT IS HERE/THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS ~~HAD~~ - (POSSIBLY MORE THAN ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD) - BEEN ABLE TO PLAY A VITAL AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN KEEPING THE FIRES DAMPED.

FROM NINETEENFIFTYSEVEN UNTIL A YEAR OR SO AGO, THERE HAD BEEN NO SERIOUS FLARE-UPS. IN THE SOUTH BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE PROVIDED A BUFFER BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES, SO THAT THERE HAVE BEEN ALMOST NO INCIDENTS. IT ALSO KEPT A DETACHMENT AT SHARM ESH SHEIKH ON THE TIP OF THE SINAI PENINSULA: IT WAS ON THE BASIS OF THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE DETACHMENT WOULD REMAIN THERE, AND ON THE BASIS OF FIRM DECLARATIONS THAT THERE WOULD BE FREE PASSAGE FOR SHIPS INTO THE GULF OF AQABA THAT THE ISRAELIS FINALLY WITHDREW THEIR FORCES FROM SINAI IN EARLY NINETEEN FIFTY SEVEN.

ON THE ARMISTICE LINES ELSEWHERE, THERE WERE MORE INCIDENTS, BUT THE U.N. CHIEF OF STAFF, WITH THE U.N. TRUCE SUPERVISORY ORGANISATION AND ITS CORPS OF OBSERVERS, WORKED HARD AND WITH CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS TO KEEP THE TEMPERATURE DOWN.

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OVER THE PAST YEAR OR SO, HOW ER, A NEW AND MORE DANGEROUS PATTERN OF INCIDENTS EMERGED: GR PS OF TERRORISTS INFILTRATED INTO ISRAEL HAVE PLACED EXPLOSIVES ON OADS, BRIDGES, RAILWAY LINES. THE AMOUNT OF DAMAGE AND THE LOSS OF LIFE HAVE NOT BEEN GREAT, BUT THEY HAVE CAUSED THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT IN ITS TURN TO MOUNT RETALIATORY ACTION AGAINST THE TERRITORY OF NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES FROM WHICH THEY HAVE COME.

WE HAVE ALWAYS MADE CLEAR OUR VIEW THAT THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED HAVE A DUTY TO PREVENT THE MOUNTING OF ATTACKS FROM THEIR TERRITORY AGAINST THEIR NEIGHBOURS: THAT IT IS INEXCUSABLE TO DISOWN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ATTACKS, AND EVEN MORE INEXCUSABLE TO PRAISE PUBLICLY THEIR PERPETRATORS AS THE SYRIANS HAVE DONE. BUT WE HAVE ALWAYS MADE EQUALLY CLEAR TO ISRAEL OUR VIEW THAT RETALIATION WAS NOT THE RIGHT ANSWER AND THAT IT WAS DANGEROUS BECAUSE ONE COULD NEVER KNOW WHERE IT WOULD END.

UNFORTUNATELY, IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE HIGHEST ORGAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARGED WITH THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE, THERE HAS BEEN A FRUSTRATING SITUATION.

WE AND OTHERS HAVE TRIED TO AVOID PARTISANSHIP, TO PASS JUDGEMENTS OF CASES ON THEIR MERITS IN THE LIGHT OF THE EVIDENCE SUPPLIED BY THE UN.N. TRUCE SUPERVISORY ORGANISATION, AND TO GET ALL PARTIES TO CO-OPERATE IN PRESERVING THE PEACE.

THE SOVIET ATTITUDE HAS, HOWEVER, BEEN DIFFERENT . TWENTY YEARS AGO THEY SUPPORTED THE RESOLUTION IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHICH LED TO THE CREATION OF ISRAEL. IN NINETEENFIFTYFIVE HOWEVER THEY SWITCHED THEIR POLICY - ONE CAN HARDLY AVOID SAYING CYNICALLY - AND THEY HAVE SINCE THEN BEEN WHOLLY ONE-SIDED IN THEIR ACTION AND IN THEIR BEHAVIOUR. WHEN THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT IS AT FAULT, IT IS RIGHTLY CRITICISED IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND A RESOLUTION EMBODYING THAT CRITICISM CAN BE PASSED. WHEN AN ARAB GOVERNMENT IS AT FAULT, THE SOVIET VETO IS USED AGAINST ANY RESOLUTION CRITICISING THAT GOVERNMENT.

FOR EXAMPLE, LAST AUTUMN WHEN THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT TOOK TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL A COMPLAINT ABOUT A TERRORIST RAID IN THE NORTH OF ISRAEL NO ACTION ENSUED. SOON AFTER THAT THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT MOUNTED AN ATTACK ON THE JORDANIAN VILLAGE OF SAMU. WE STRONGLY AND PUBLICLY CRITICISED THEIR ACTION AT THE TIME AS UNJUSTIFIED AND INEXPEDIENT. AND IN THIS CASE THE SECURITY COUNCIL PASSED A CONDEMNATORY RESOLUTION. BUT SIR, CLEARLY THERE IS NO EQUITY IN THIS SITUATION, THIS DOUBLE APPROACH.

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NOT ONLY THAT BUT THERE ARE WIDER IMPLICATIONS. EVEN IF THE UNEF FORCE HAS NOT BEEN THE SOLE REASON FOR THE RELATIVE QUIET WHICH HAS BEEN MAINTAINED OVER THE PAST TEN YEARS, NEVERTHELESS IT HAS OBVIOUSLY PLAYED A VERY LARGE PART IN IT AND HAS SHOWN WHAT CAN BE DONE BY THE UNITED NATIONS IN PEACEKEEPING. BUT TO REMOVE THE FORCE IN THIS WAY WAS BOUND TO CAST DOUBT ON THE CREDIBILITY OF SUCH EFFORTS ELSEWHERE AND THEREBY RISK INTENSIFYING OTHER PROBLEMS AND TENSIONS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

NEVERTHELESS THE DECISION WAS TAKEN, AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL DECIDED WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH THE APPROPRIATE ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS THAT HE HAD TO ACCEPT THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE FORCE. THIS ACTION CLEARLY ALTERED THE WHOLE SITUATION IN A VERY IMPORTANT AND MATERIAL RESPECT.

HAVING ACHIEVED THIS RESULT, POSSIBLY WITH UNEXPECTED EASE, PRESIDENT NASSER ANNOUNCED ON TWENTYTHREE MAY THAT, FOLLOWING THE REMOVAL OF THE UNEF DETACHMENT FROM SHARM ESH SHIEKH, HIS GOVERNMENT INTENDED TO CLOSE THE STRAITS OF TIRAN TO ISRAEL SHIPS AND TO THE CARRIAGE OF STRATEGIC GOODS TO ISRAEL.

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THERE ARE TWO SERIOUS ASPECTS TO THIS. THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT DECLARED IN NINETEEN FIFTY SEVEN THAT IT WOULD REGARD INTERFERENCE WITH ITS SHIPPING AS AN AGGRESSIVE ACT ENTITLING IT TO TAKE MEASURES OF SELF-DEFENCE UNDER ARTICLE FIFTYONE OF THE CHARTER. THERE WAS THEREFORE A GRAVE RISK OF A MILITARY CONFLICT ARISING OUT OF THIS SITUATION.

BUT THERE WAS A WIDER ASPECT. THIS IS NOT A MATTER WHICH CONCERNS ONLY ISRAEL AND THE UAR. IT IS ALSO A MATTER OF DIRECT CONCERN TO ALL MARITIME NATIONS INTERESTED IN THE UNFETTERED MOVEMENT OF PEACEFUL SHIPPING IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD. OUR DELEGATE TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN NINETEENFIFTYSEVEN DECLARED THAT:

'THE STRAITS OF TIRAN MUST BE REGARDED AS AN INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY, THROUGH WHICH THE VESSELS OF ALL NATIONS HAVE A RIGHT OF PASSAGE.

HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT WILL ASSERT THIS RIGHT ON BEHALF OF ALL BRITISH SHIPPING, AND THEY ARE PREPARED TO JOIN WITH OTHERS TO SECURE GENERAL RECOGNITION OF THIS RIGHT.''

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OTHER DELEGATES MADE SIMILAR, IN SOME CASES EVEN STRONGER, DECLARATIONS. INCIDENTALLY, SOME OF THESE DECLARATIONS MAKE VERY INTERESTING READING NOW - AND MEMBERS MAY CARE TO LOOK AT THEM. THEY ARE CONTAINED IN THE OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY (XI SESS. PLENARY MEETINGS NINETEENFIFTYSIX-FIFTYSEVEN VOLUME TWO).

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AS YOU KNOW, THE PRIME MINISTER REAFFIRMED HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT'S POSITION IN SIMILAR TERMS ON THIS SUBJECT LAST WEEK.

THIS IS NOT JUST AN ARGUABLE LEGAL MATTER. IT CARRIES GREAT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES. ITS REPERCUSSIONS COULD AFFECT THE RIGHTS OF NAVIGATION IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD, INCLUDING, BE IT NOTED, SOME OF THE MARITIME EXITS FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

IT IS WORTH JUST NOTICING IN PASSING THAT THIS DECISION WAS ANNOUNCED WHILE THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS WAS ACTUALLY ON HIS WAY TO CAIRO TO DISCUSS WITH THE U.A.R. GOVERNMENT MEANS OF DEALING WITH THE GRAVE SITUATION THAT HAD ARISEN.

AS THE HOUSE KNOWS, I WENT TO MOSCOW AT THAT TIME AND DURING MY TALKS WITH RUSSIAN LEADERS I WAS CONVINCED THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT - DESPITE THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENT AND ITS VERY ONE-SIDED APPROACH - WERE IN FACT VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AND VERY ANXIOUS TO HELP PREVENT IT GETTING OUT OF HAND.

I MADE IT CLEAR TO THEM THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO IMMEDIATE STEPS TO GET RESTRAINT OBSERVED BY THOSE IN THE AREA AND THE NEED TO USE ANY TIME THUS GAINED TO FIND ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS CREATED - ESPECIALLY THAT OF NAVIGATION IN THE GULF OF AQABA.

I ALSO TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY WHEN GIVING AN OPEN, PUBLIC LECTURE IN MOSCOW - ONE OF THE FEW OPPORTUNITIES YET GRANTED TO A REPRESENTATIVE OF A WESTERN POWER - TO MAKE THE SAME POINT IN PUBLIC. THIS IS WHAT I SAID:- ''YOUR COUNTRY IS A VERY GREAT POWER. THIS IS A FACT. IT IMPOSES ON YOU GREAT RESPONSIBILITIES. IN PARTICULAR IT IMPOSES THE RESPONSIBILITY OF USING THAT POWER TO SEE THAT THE PEACE OF THE WORLD IS MAINTAINED. TO DISCHARGE THIS REQUIRES BOTH RESTRAINT AND CREATIVE IMAGINATION. I ASK YOU TO APPROACH THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST WITH THIS RESPONSIBILITY IN MIND.''

AS MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS WE IN THIS COUNTRY, TOGETHER WITH THE OTHER PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, INCLUDING AS I HAVE SAID THE SOVIET UNION, WELCOMED THE ADMISSION OF ISRAEL. WE MUST CONTINUE TO FIND SOME WAY IN WHICH ISRAEL CAN LIVE WITHOUT FEAR OF HER NEIGHBOURS AND HER NEIGHBOURS CAN LIVE WITHOUT FEAR OF ISRAEL. THIS IS JUST AS MUCH A RUSSIAN RESPONSIBILITY AS IT IS FOR ANY OF THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD.

AT THE VERY SAME MOMENT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT PROPOSED THAT THERE SHOULD BE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES, U.S.S.R., FRANCE AND BRITAIN TO SEEK A SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM. WE FOR OUR PART WARMLY WELCOMED THIS PROPOSAL AND HAVE SO INFORMED THE THREE OTHER GOVERNMENTS. HOWEVER, I REGRET TO TELL THE HOUSE THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAVE DECLINED TO TAKE PART IN SUCH DISCUSSIONS.

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THERE HAS IN ALL THIS BACKGROUND DISCUSSION, BEEN SOME DISCUSSION OF THE TRIPARTITE DECLARATION OF NINETEENFIFTY. I EXPLAINED H.M.G.'S ATTITUDE TO THIS DECLARATION IN ANSWER TO A PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION ON NINETEEN DECEMBER LAST, AND THE POSITION REMAINS UNCHANGED SINCE THEN. THAT DECLARATION WAS A STATEMENT MADE BY THREE GOVERNMENTS ABOUT THEIR INTENTIONS WITH REGARD TO THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO THE AREA. IT ALSO DECLARED THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE USE OF FORCE IN THE AREA AND THEIR INTENTION TO TAKE SUCH ACTION AS THEY THOUGHT FIT IF FORCE WERE USED OR IF THERE WERE A THREAT OF FORCE. AT THAT TIME THE THREE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED WERE VIRTUALLY THE ONLY SUPPLIERS OF ARMS TO THE AREA, AND BRITAIN HERSELF HAD FORCES IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES OF THE AREA.

THE SITUATION HAS ENTIRELY CHANGED SINCE THAT DATE. WE DO NOT CLAIM TO PLAY ANY SPECIAL ROLE IN THE ARAB/ISRAEL DISPUTE. AS A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, H.M.G. HAVE A DUTY TO SUPPORT EFFORTS TO KEEP THE PEACE EVERYWHERE: WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED WITH PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND WE HAVE OF COURSE IMPORTANT NATIONAL INTERESTS THERE. BUT WE REGARD THE UNITED NATIONS AS PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR PEACE-KEEPING. I AM IN THESE WORDS PARAPHRASING WHAT WAS SAID BY THE THEN PRIME MINISTER, MR. HAROLD MACMILLAN, IN NINETEENSIXTYTHREE, AND REAFFIRMED BY MR RT. HON. FRIEND THE PRESENT PRIME MINISTER.

THESE THEN ARE THE RECENT EVENTS AND SOME OF THE CONSIDERATIONS AGAINST WHICH WE HAVE HAD TO DECIDE THE COURSE OF OUR OWN ACTIONS. BUT OUR ACTIONS HAVE NOT ONLY TO MATCH THE EVENTS OF THIS PARTICULAR CRISIS AS IT DEVELOPS, THEY HAVE TO FIT INTO THE BROADER SETTING OF OUR MIDDLE EAST POLICY AS A WHOLE.

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OUR INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST NOTABLY TRADE - INVESTMENT, AS ELSEWHERE, DEPEND UPON THE MAINTENANCE OF CONDITIONS IN WHICH PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY DEVELOPMENT IN THE AREA CAN PROCEED. THERE ARE SOME AREAS OF THE MIDDLE EAST WHERE WE CAN CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THESE CONDITIONS. THE PERSIAN GULF IS A CLEAR EXAMPLE, WHERE OUR CONTRIBUTION HAS BEEN BOTH CRUCIAL AND SUCCESSFUL. SOUTH ARABIA PRESENTS ON THE OTHER HAND A MORE COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT EXAMPLE, BUT THERE TOO WE ARE STILL STRIVING TO HELP FIND THE BASIS FOR THESE CONDITIONS AND I DO NOT DESPAIR OF EVENTUAL SUCCESS. BUT WE SHALL BE DEBATING THAT SUBJECT SEPARATELY ON ANOTHER OCCASION.

THERE ARE TWO PERSISTENT FEATURES OF THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION WHICH THREATEN THIS PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY DEVELOPMENT. THEY ARE THE BITTER HOSTILITY OF THE ARABS TOWARDS ISRAEL AND THE DEEP-SEATED DIVISION WITHIN THE ARAB WORLD. AS I SAID EARLIER THERE IS ALSO THE EXTENT TO WHICH OTHERS FROM OUTSIDE ARE INTERVENING IN THE SITUATION. WE DEPLORE BOTH OF THESE CONFLICTS AND HAVE NO WISH TO TAKE SIDES IN EITHER OF THEM. BUT SINCE THEY DOMINATE SO MUCH OF THE MIDDLE EAST SCENE, AS RECENT EVENTS HAVE DEMONSTRATED, I SHOULD LIKE TO STATE CLEARLY OUR ATTITUDE TO EACH OF THEM IN TURN.

I DO NOT WANT TO BE DRAWN INTO THE ENDLESS ARGUMENT ABOUT THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF THE TERMINATION OF THE PALESTINE MANDATE AND THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. IT WAS CERTAINLY NOT A HAPPY EXPERIENCE FOR THIS COUNTRY.

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BUT ALL THAT WAS A LONG TIME AGO. IT IS A MATTER OF GREAT REGRET THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO HEAL THE WOUNDS FROM THOSE DAYS AND TO MAKE A FINAL PEACE SETTLEMENT. WE UNDERSTAND THE FEELINGS OF THE ARAB PEOPLES ON THIS SUBJECT., AND AS A MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR TO UNRWA WE ARE ACUTELY AWARE OF THE PROBLEM OF THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES. WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE A FAIR AND FULL SETTLEMENT OF THE WHOLE PROBLEM.

BUT, HAVING SAID THAT, THE STATE OF ISRAEL HAS NOW BEEN A MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR NEARLY TWENTY YEARS, RECOGNISED BY MOST GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD AND THE SOVIET UNION WAS AMONG THE VERY FIRST TO DO SO.TWO AND A HALF MILLION PEOPLE LIVE IN ISRAEL. THIS FACT CANNOT NOW BE IGNORED AND RECOGNISING IT CANNOT BE ATTACKED REASONABLY AS ''TAKING SIDES IN AN ARAB/ISRAEL DISPUTE''. WE TRADE WITH ISRAEL, AS WE TRADE WITH HER ARAB NEIGHBOURS. WE HAVE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT, AS WE HAVE OR WISH TO HAVE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ALL HER ARAB NEIGHBOURS.

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IN THE SAME WAY WE DO NOT SEEK EITHER TO BE INVOLVED IN OR TO ENCOURAGE THE DISPUTE WHICH HAS BEEN DIVIDING THE ARAB COUNTRIES INTO TWO HOSTILE CAMPS. IN OUR RELATIONS WITH ARAB COUNTRIES WE DESIRE TO DEVELOP OUR CONNEXIONS AND RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB STATES OF WHATEVER POLITICAL COMPLEXION, TO RECALL AND CONTINUE OUR PARTICIPATION NOT ONLY IN THEIR ATTAINMENT OF FREEDOM BUT ALSO TO FURTHER THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CONSTRUCTIVE ARAB NATIONALISM.

I RECOGNISE IN ARAB NATIONALISM ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FORCES FOR CHANGE IN THE MIDDLE EAST TODAY. I HAVE STRIVEN, FOR INSTANCE, TO MAKE AN ALLY OF IT IN SOUTH ARABIA AND DESPITE SETBACKS I SHALL CONTINUE TO STRIVE FOR THAT. BUT EQUALLY I RECOGNISE THAT NO ONE PARTY, NO ONE COUNTRY, AND NO ONE GROUP OF COUNTRIES HAS A MONOPOLY OF ARAB NATIONALISM. IT IS AT LEAST AS STRONG A DRIVING FORCE OF THOSE WHO SEEK FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE AS IN THOSE WHO WORK TO PURSUE THEIR AIMS BY METHODS OF VIOLENCE.

AND WE MUST NOT FALL INTO THE TRAP OF REGARDING OR ALLOWING OTHERS TO REGARD OUR MIDDLE EAST POLICY AS A STRUGGLE TO THE DEATH BETWEEN OURSELVES AND PRESIDENT NASSER. I GOT TO KNOW PRESIDENT NASSER OVER A LONG PERIOD OF YEARS AND I HAVE A HIGH REGARD FOR HIM. AT THE SAME TIME, I AM NOT BLIND TO HIS ERRORS. I BELIEVE THAT HE HAS LONG BEEN FOLLOWING A PROFOUNDLY WRONG COURSE IN SOUTH ARABIA AND I BELIEVE THAT IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS HE RASHLY ADOPTED A POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST WHICH COULD ENDANGER NOT ONLY HIMSELF BUT THE PEACE OF THE WHOLE WORLD. WE ARE NOT SETTING OUT TO ''TOPPLE NASSER'', AS MEMBERS OPPOSITE ONCE FOOLISHLY ATTEMPTED TO DO. BUT NOR ARE WE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THAT HE HAS THE RIGHT TO TOPPLE ANOTHER MIDDLE EASTERN NATION AT THE RISK OF PLUNGING US ALL INTO WAR.

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AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND OUR AIM IN THIS PRESENT CRISIS MUST BE TO PREVENT CONFRONTATION WHICH NOW EXISTS BURSTING INTO A CONFLAGRATION AND TO SEEK WITH OTHERS A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT ACHIEVED BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

THERE ARE MANY POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS BY WHICH THE GULF OF AQABA MIGHT BE KEPT OPEN ON TERMS WHICH BOTH ISRAEL AND EGYPT COULD REASONABLY BE ASKED TO ACCEPT.

AND ANY SOLUTION MUST CERTAINLY ALSO SATISFY OUR OWN INTEREST AND THOSE OF OTHER MARITIME NATIONS CONCERNED WITH THE FREEDOM OF SHIPPING THERE.

I AM UNDER NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE DIFFICULTIES EITHER OF MAINTAINING THE PEACE OR OF ACHIEVING OUT OF IT SUCH A JUST, EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT. NOR MUST WE NECESSARILY CONFINE OUR EFFORTS TO ONLY ONE FORUM. WE MUST PURSUE OUR OBJECTIVE BY EVERY DIPLOMATIC MEANS AVAILABLE TO US.

CLEARLY THE MOST APPROPRIATE AND ULTIMATELY, WERE IT AVAILABLE, THE BEST WAY IS TO WORK FOR A SETTLEMENT WITHIN THE MACHINERY OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

DESPITE ALL THE SETBACKS WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS HAS RECEIVED, THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS DOES SET OUT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD GOVERN THE POLICIES AND ACTIONS OF NATIONS. MOREOVER, THE MAIN PURPOSE OF THE CHARTER IS TO GUARANTEE THE INTEGRITY OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, BOTH GREAT AND SMALL AND, JUST AT THIS MOMENT, A SMALL COUNTRY, THE STATE OF ISRAEL IS BEING THREATENED.

WE ARE PROUD OF BEING A FOUNDER MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OF BEING ONE OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE BELIEVE THAT THE STRENGTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THIS GREAT ORGANISATION ARE ESSENTIAL TO WORLD PEACE.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE AREA WHICH IS NOW SO DISTURBED, THE MEN OF THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE HAVE MADE A REAL CONTRIBUTION TO PRESERVING PEACE FOR NEARLY A DECADE. I MAKE NO APOLOGY FOR REFERRING TO THIS AS I THINK IT IS WORTH DWELLING ON IT FOR A MOMENT. THEIR SUDDEN ENFORCED REMOVAL SYMBOLIZES THE CRISIS THAT HAS SO SUDDENLY BROKEN UPON US.

HERE WAS A MILITARY FORCE WITH MEN FROM YUGOSLAVIA, INDIA, CANADA AND THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES WHICH HAD WORKED TOGETHER AS A TEAM AND WAS PROBABLY THE BEST U.N. PEACEKEEPING FORCE THAT [redacted]D EVER EXISTED. ITS DISAPPEARANCE IS AT ONCE A SHARP BLOW TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND TO INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ORDER.

I MUST EMPHASIZE AGAIN TO THE HOUSE THAT THE REMOVAL OF THAT FORCE AT A MOMENT WHEN IT WAS MOST NEEDED WAS ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS ASPECTS OF THIS WHOLE BUSINESS. THE UNITED NATIONS COULD PLAY A TREMENDOUS ROLE IN PEACEKEEPING. UNTIL ITS MEMBERS CAN AGREE AMONGST THEMSELVES AS TO HOW THIS IS TO BE DONE - AND HERE THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS AN ABSOLUTELY VITAL PART TO PLAY - THE RULE OF LAW IN THE WORLD WILL BE GRAVELY JEOPARDISED.

WE WELCOMED THE INITIATIVE OF U THANT, IN GOING TO CAIRO AND HIS REPORT DRAWS ATTENTION TO ALL THE DANGERS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION, INCLUDING THE EXPLOSIVE POSITION IN THE GULF. IT MAKES VARIOUS PROPOSALS FOR REMEDIES. WHAT IS NEEDED NOW IS A BREATHING SPACE TO ENABLE THESE PROPOSALS TO BE FULLY CONSIDERED AND TO ENABLE THE UNITED NATIONS TO EXERCISE ITS UNIQUE ROLE AS A CONCILIATOR. IN THIS MODERATING ROLE IT MUST URGE CONCILIATION ON BOTH SIDES - ON THE EGYPTIANS AND ON THE ISRAELIS. IT IS IN ORDER TO GAIN THIS BREATHING SPACE THAT MY RIGHT HONOURABLE FRIEND LORD CARADON AND OTHERS ARE WORKING SO HARD AT THE PRESENT TIME TO GET SUPPORT FOR SOME RESOLUTION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL THAT WILL IN FACT URGE RESTRAINT AND CONCILIATION.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL REFERRED IN HIS REPORT TO THE NEED FOR ALL CONCERNED TO "EXERCISE SPECIAL RESTRAINT, TO FOREGO BELIGERENCE AND TO AVOID ALL OTHER ACTIONS WHICH COKLD INCREASE TENSION". WE WOULD CONSIDER AS ACTS OF BELLIGERENCE ANY UNILATERAL ACT TO CLOSE THE GULF OF AQABA OR ANY ACTS OF AGGRESSION COMMITTED BY EITHER SIDE ON THE ISRAEL/ARAB BORDER.

THE MAIN TASK OF THE UNITED NATIONS IS, IN FACT, TO WORK HARD TO REDUCE TENSION ON BOTH SIDES AND, IF THAT IS POSSIBLE, TO SECURE A REDUCTION IN THE FORCES WHICH HAVE NOW GATHERED ON ALL THE ARAB/ISRAEL FRONTIERS.

ONCE THIS CONCILIATION AND THINNING-OUT PROCESS GETS UNDER WAY THERE WILL BE AN URGENT NEED FOR SOME NEW FORM OF UNITED NATIONS PRESENCE WHICH WOULD HELP TO KEEP THE TWO SIDES APART, AS UNEF DID DURING THE LAST TEN YEARS.

SUCH A UNITED NATIONS PRESENCE MIGHT TAKE MANY FORMS. IT COULD GROW OUT OF THE UNITED NATIONS TRUCE SUPERVISOR ORGANISATION WHICH PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE ON THE EGYPTIAN/ISRAEL FRONTIER BEFORE IT WAS SUPERSEDED BY UNEF. IT MIGHT BE SOME ENTIRELY NEW BODY. WHATEVER FORM EMERGES I BELIEVE THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL SHOULD IN ANY CASE SEND HIS OWN PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE TO THE AREA TO HELP WITH THE TASK OF CONCILIATION. I HOPE THAT U THANT WILL BE ABLE TO FIND SOMEBODY OF REAL POLITICAL STATURE AND EXPERIENCE TO CARRY OUT THIS VERY DIFFICULT TASK.

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I AM SURE THAT THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF ANY NEW UNITED NATIONS BODY SHOULD EXTEND TO BOTH SIDES OF THE FRONTIER SO AS TO BE, TO THAT EXTENT, INDEPENDENT OF ANY ONE OF THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED. THE ISRAELIS HAVE, UNWISELY IN MY VIEW, REJECTED THIS IN THE PAST. WE HAVE MADE OUR VIEW INESCAPABLY CLEAR TO THE ISRAELIS IN THE LAST FEW DAYS.

THESE ARE THE KIND OF DIRECTIONS IN WHICH WE THINK THE UNITED NATIONS MUST CONTINUE TO WORK.

BRITISH POLICY, AS I HAVE SAID, IS TO WORK IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS. BUT AT THE END OF THE DAY THE UNITED NATIONS IS ONLY THE SUM OF ITS MEMBERS. AND THERE ARE CLEAR LIMITATIONS ON IT AT THIS MOMENT.

SPEAKING FOR OURSELVES, WE COULD NOT BE SATISFIED WITH A SITUATION IN WHICH A NUMERICAL MAJORITY IN NEW YORK ARE SATISFIED WITH AN INEQUITABLE SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL MERELY ENSURE THAT AN ARAB/ISRAEL WAR IS INEVITABLE SOONER OR LATER. THEREFORE WE HAVE NOT CONFINED OUR DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY TO NEW YORK. WE HAVE ALSO BEEN IN TOUCH BOTH DIRECTLY AND THROUGH OUR AMBASSADORS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS IN THEIR OWN CAPITALS.

ALTHOUGH WE SHOULD NOT MAKE THE MISTAKE OF ASSUMING THAT THERE AREN'T OTHER GRAVE DANGER SPOTS WHICH COULD SPARK OFF A WAR. NEVERTHELESS AS I HAVE SAID THE CENTRE OF THE PRESENT CRISIS SEEMS PRETTY CLEARLY TO BE THE GULF OF AQABA. THE IMMEDIATE CRUCIAL PROBLEM IS FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION THERE. WE ARE THEREFORE IN THE CLOSEST TOUCHNWITH OTHER MARITIME COUNTRIES WHICH SHARE WITH US A VITAL INTEREST IN THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.,

WE HAVE EXPLAINED OUR OWN POSITION TO THESE OTHER GOVERNMENTS. AS THE PRIME MINISTER STATED AT MARGATE ON TWENTYFOUR MAY, THIS IS STILL AS IT WAS IN NINETEEN FIFTY SEVEN, THAT THE STRAITS OF TIRAN MUST BE REGARDED AS AN INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY THROUGH WHICH THE VESSELS OF ALL NATIONS HAVE A RIGHT OF PASSAGE. AS THE PRIME MINISTER ALSO SAID, ''HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENTNWILL ASSERT THIS RIGHT ON BEHALF OF ALL BRITISH SHIPPING AND IS PREPARED TO JOIN WITH OTHERF TO SECURD A GENERAL RECOGNITION OF THIS RIGHT.''

OUR RECENT DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGDS HAVE SHOWN THAT MANY OTHER COUNTRIES NOW AS IN NINETEEN FIFTYSEVEN SHARE OUR VIEWS ON THIS RIGHT OF FREE PASSAGE. WE ARE NOW DISCUSSING WITH THEM WHAT WE AND THEY CAN DO TOGETHER TO ASSERT THIS RIGHT AND TO SECURE ITS GENERAL RECOGNITION.

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LORD CARADON HAS ALREADY PUBLICLY STATED OUR POSITION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS. BUT WE CANNOT BE SURE THAT THE COUNCIL WILL BE ABLE TO AGREE ON A CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL STATEMENT OF THE POSITION AS WE AND OTHERS SEE IT. WE HAVE THEREFORE DECIDED TO CONSULT WITH OTHER LIKE-MINDED NATIONS ABOUT THE ISSUING OF A CLEAR DECLARATION BY THE INTERNATIONAL MARITIME COMMUNITY THAT THE GULF OF AQABA IS RPT IS AN INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY INTO WHICH AND THROUGH WHICH THE VESSELS OF ALL NATIONS HAVE A RIGHT OF PASSAGE. SUCH A DECLARATION WHETHER IN AN OUTSIDE OR IN A UNITED NATIONS FORUM -, PREFERABLE AS THE LATTER WOULD BE - WOULD I BELIEVE HAVE A SUBSTANTIVE PART TO PLAY IN MAINTAINING AND PROLONGING THE RESTRAINT WHICH AT PRESENT ENABLES PEACE TO BE HELD IN THE AREA. BY SO DOING IT WOULD GIVE US THE EXTRA TIME TO TRY TO FIND THE LONGER-TERM SOLUTIONS ABOUT THE USE OF THE GULF - INCLUDING POSSIBLY A SPECIAL CONVENTION ENSHRINING ITS STATUS, AS APPLIES TO SOME OTHER INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS.

WE MUST OF COURSE FACE THE FACT THAT ACTION IN THE UNITED NATIONS, OR DECLARATIONS MADE BY NATIONS OUTSIDE THE UNITED NATIONS MAY NOT BE ENOUGH TO SECURE THE RIGHT OF INNOCENT PASSAGE TO WHICH WE AND ALL MARITIME NATIONS ATTACH SUCH IMPORTANCE. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT WE CERTAINLY HOPE THAT THEY WILL: I TRUST IT ALSO GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT WE SHALL USE EVERY DIPLOMATIC EFFORT TO SEE THAT THEY DO. BUT WE WOULD BE FAILING IN OUR DUTY IF WE WERE NOT CONSULTING WITH OTHERS CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION THAT WOULD ARISE IF THESE INITIATIVES I HAVE OUTLINED ABOVE WERE TO FAIL.

DURING THE LAST WEEK, WHILST THE HOUSE WAS IN RECESS, THE MIDDLE EAST MOVED CLOSE TO THE BRINK OF WAR.

ONLY THOSE OF US WHO WERE INVOLVED DEEPLY IN THE EVENTS OF LAST WEEKEND KNOW HOW CLOSE WE CAME TO SEEING ACTS OF WAR FROM WHICH THE WAVES OF DESTRUCTION MIGHT HAVE SPREAD OUT TO ENGULF US ALL. THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF SEVERAL COUNTRIES, INCLUDING, I AM PROUD TO SAY, OUR OWN, THIS HORROR WAS AVERTED.

BUT ALTHOUGH NONE OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST HAS YET STEPPED OVER THE BRINK, THE ABYSS REMAINS. TIME IS DESPARATELY SHORT. UNLESS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULDERS FULLY ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AND ASSERTS ITSELF TO SECURE QUICKLY A JUST AND EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT, A CRISIS MORE GRAVE AND MORE THREATENING WILL INEVITABLY BE UPON US.

TO AVERT THAT I PLEDGE THE UNTIRING DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS OF THIS COUNTRY.

ENDS VERBATIM SERVICE 226/67 L.P.S.....

PRODROME RABAT

(on the Middle East situation

Text of Statement made by the
Rt Hon George Brown MP, as the
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,
in the House of Commons on 31 May 1967.

TEXT OF STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION MADE BY THE RT.HON GEORGE BROWN, M.P. SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON 31 MAY, 1967.

For most of what I have to say, and no doubt in the debate which will follow, we shall of course be discussing the situation between the Arab countries and Israel, but I want right at the start to remind the House that the political, economic and strategic interests of too many countries are involved in the Middle East for it to be other than extremely difficult for a war which even got started in that area to be confined to the countries immediately concerned.

If we are to get the present Arab/Israel crisis in perspective we must see it in a wider context. It is indeed true that this greater risk of war which we face today stems not so much from any increased emnity between Israel and the Arab States - bad though that is; not so much from any failure of the United Nations, precipitously withdrawing the United Nations Force, but from the fact that into this area over quite some time now there have been pouring vast quantities of guns, armour and aircraft, not for the purposes of the local conflicts within the area, but for purposes of changing the global balance of power.

That is why it must be the basis of what I have to say, that even though we are now talking mainly about the Araby - Israel dispute, and ways of preventing that flaring up, it would be a bold man who would say that just to settle today's immediate problems would remove the continuing risks of war in that area.

Having said that, and despite the startling suddenness with which the crisis blew up, behind it there is the intractable and long-standing dispute between the Arab countries and the State of Israel.

It is twenty years since the United Nations first tried to tackle this problem, despite many efforts it has

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not been possible to find a permanent settlement: but even so it is here possibly more than anywhere else in the world that the United Nations has been able to play a vital and constructive role in keeping the fires damped.

From nineteen fifty seven until a year or so ago, there had been no serious flare-ups in the south between Egypt and Israel the United Nations emergency force provided a buffer between the two sides, so that there have been almost no incidents. It also kept a detachment at Sharn Esh Sheikh on the tip of the Sinai Peninsula: it was on the basis of the understanding thatt the detachment would remain there, and on the basis of firm declarations that there would be free passage for ships into the Gulf of Aqaba that the Israelis finally withdrew their forces from Sinai in early nineteen fifty seven.

On the Armistice lines elsewhere, there were more incidents, but the United Nations Chief of Staff, with the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organisation and its Corps of Observers, worked hard and with considerable success to keep the temperature down. Over the past year or so, however, a new and more dangerous pattern of incidents emerged: groups of terrorists infiltrated into Israel have placed explosives on roads, bridges, railway lines. The amount of damage and the loss of life have not been great, but they have caused the Israel Government in its turn to mount retaliatory action against the territory of neighbouring countries from which they have come.

We have always made clear our view that the Governments concerned have a duty to prevent the mounting of attacks from their territory against their neighbours: that it is inexcusable to disown responsibility for the attacks, and even more inexcusable to praise publicly their perpetrators as the Syrians have done, but we have always made equally clear to Israel our view that retaliation was not the right answer and that it was dangerous because one could never know where it

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would end.

Unfortunately, in the Security Council, the highest organ of the United Nations charged with the maintenance of peace, there has been a frustrating situation.

We and others have tried to avoid partisanship, to pass judgements of cases on their merits in the light of the evidence supplied by the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organisation, and to get all parties to co-operate in preserving the peace.

The Soviet attitude has, however, been different. Twenty years ago they supported the resolution in the General Assembly which led to the creation of Israel. In nineteen fifty five, however, they switched their policy - one can hardly avoid saying cynically - and they have since then been wholly one-sided in their action and in their behaviour when the Israel Government is at fault, it is rightly criticed in the Security Council, and a resolution embodying that criticism can be passed, when an Arab Government is at fault, the Soviet veto is used against any resolution criticising that Government.

For example, last autumn when the Israel Government took to the Security Council a complaint about a terrorist raid in the north of Israel no action ensued. Soon after that the Israel Government mounted an attack on the Jordanian village of Samu. We strongly and publicly criticised their action at the time as unjustified and inexpedient, and in this case the Security Council passed a condemnatory resolution. But, Sir, clearly there is no equity in this situation, this double approach. A pattern of incidents and retaliation has continued this year. The Secretary-General of the United Nations tried to calm the situation by using the machinery of the Israel-Syria mixed Armistice Commission which had until then been boycotted for many years by Israel. We supported him fully in this initiative. The Commission met on several occasions but despite the efforts of the Commission, terrorist attacks on Israel were renewed.

After ah incident in the demilitarised zone south of Lake Tiberias in early April, Israel attacked Syrian defensive positions

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from the air. In purely military terms, this action appeared to be successful, but the danger of escalation in all this was clearly patent.

Apart from the usual propaganda machine it should be recognised that during this period the U.A.R., despite the fact that it came under attack from other Arab States, nevertheless acted with notable restraint.

About the middle of May, Israeli leaders spoke strongly of the latest incursions from Syria and warned that they could not continue to tolerate them.

Perhaps on account of these statements, it became widely but according to our information erroneously believed, that some large scale attack on Syria was imminent.

It was then - on fourteen and fifteen May - that the Government of the United Arab Republic started to take large and ostentatious military precautions. On sixteenth May they took the very grave step of demanding the withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force.

I have already spoken of the role of this Force. I will refer to it again in a moment if I may. It was set up in nineteen fifty six to supervise the withdrawal of the Anglo/French and Israel Forces from Egyptian territory. It had remained on the Sinai frontier ever since as a buffer between Israel and the United Arab Republic

There will no doubt be endless legal argument about the judicial position of President Nasser's action. But in my view this is not the point. One can sympathise with the Secretary-General confronted with this demand. But it cannot be right that when a fire is known to be imminent the Fire Brigade should be ordered to depart. Not only that but there are wider implications Even if the UNEF Force has not been the sole reason for the relative quiet which has been amintained over the past ten years, nevertheless it has obviously played a very large part in it and has shown what can be done by the United Nations in peace-keeping. But to remove the Force in this way was bound to cast/doubt

doubt on the credibility of such efforts elsewhere and thereby risk intensifying other problems and tensions in other parts of the world.

The withdrawal decision was taken, and the Secretary-General decided without consultation with the appropriate organs of the United Nations that he had to accept the withdrawal of the Force. This action clearly altered the whole situation in a very important and material respect.

Having achieved this result, possibly with unexpected ease, President Nasser announced on twenty three May that, following the removal of the UNEF detachment from Sharm Esh Sheikh, his Government intended to close the straits of Tiran to Israel ships and to the carriage of strategic goods to Israel.

There are two serious aspects to this. The Israel Government declared in nineteen fifty seven that it would regard interference with its shipping as an aggressive act entitling it to take measures of self-defence under Article fifty one of the Charter. There was therefore a grave risk of a military conflict arising out of this situation.

But there was a wider aspect. This is not a matter which concerns only Israel and the U.A.R. It is also a matter of direct concern to all maritime nations interested in the unfettered movement of peaceful shipping in all parts of the world. Our delegate to the General Assembly in nineteen fifty seven declared that: 'The Straits of Tiran must be regarded as an international waterway, through which the vessels of all nations have a right of passage.'

Her Majesty's Government will assert this right on behalf of all British shipping, and they are prepared to join with others to secure general recognition of this right.'

Other delegates made similar, in some cases even stronger, declarations. Incidentally, some of these declarations make very

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interesting reading now - and members may care to look at them. They are contained in the official records of the United Nations General Assembly (Xi Sess. Plenary Meetings nineteen fifty six-fifty seven, Vol. Two).

As you know, the Prime Minister reaffirmed Her Majesty's Government's position on this subject in similar terms last week.

This is not just an arguable legal matter. It carries great political and economic consequences. Its repercussions could affect the right of navigation in many parts of the workd, including, be it noted, some of the maritime exits from the Soviet Union.

It is worth just noticing in passing that this decision was announced while the Secretary-General of the United Nations was actually on his way to Cairo to discuss with the U.A.R. Government means of dealing with the grave situation that had arisen.

As the House knows, I went to Moscow at that time and during my talks with Russian leaders I was convinced that the Soviet Government - despite their public statement and its very one-sided approach - were in fact very concerned about the Middle East situation and very anxious to help prevent it getting out of hand.

I made it clear to them the importance we attach to immediate steps to get restraint observed by those in the area and the need to use any time thus gained to find acceptable solutions to the problems created - especially that of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba.

I also took the opportunity when giving an open, public lecture in Moscow - one of the few opportunities yet granted to a representative of a Western Power - to make the same point in public. This is what I said "Your country is a very great Power. This is a fact. It imposes on you great responsibilities. In particular it imposes the responsibility of using that power

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to see that the peace of the world is maintained. To discharge this requires both restraint and creative imagination. I ask you to approach the situation in the Middle East with this responsibility in mind".

As members of the United Nations we in this country, together with the other permanent members of the Security Council, including as I have said the Soviet Union, welcomed the admission of Israel. We must continue to find some'way in which Israel can live without fear of her neighbours and her neighbours can live without fear of Israel. This is just as much a Russian responsibility as it is for any of the other countries of the world.

At the very same moment the French Government proposed that there should be discussions between the United States, U.S.S.R. France and Britain to seek a solution to this problem. We for our part warmly welcomed this proposal and have so informed the three other Governments. However, I regret to tell the House that the Soviet Government have declined to take part in such discussions.

There has in all this background discussion, been some discussion. of the Tripartite declaration of nineteen fifty. I explained H.M.G.'s attitude to this declaration in answer to a Parliamentary Question on noneteen December last, and the position remains unchanged since then. That declaration was a statement made by three Governments about their intentions with regard to the supply of arms to the area. It also declared their opposition to the use of force in the area and their intention to take such action as they thought fit if force were used or if there were a threat of force. At that time the three Governments concerned were virtually the only suppliers of arms to the area, and Britain herself had forces in several countries of the area.

The situation has entirely changed since that date, we do

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not claim to play any special role in the Arab/Israel dispute. As a permanent member of the Security Council, H.M.G. have a duty to support efforts to keep the peace everywhere: we are deeply concerned with peace and stability in the Middle East, and we have of course important national interests there. But we regard the United Nations as primarily responsible for peace-keeping. I am in these words paraphrasing what was said by the then Prime Minister, Mr. Harold MacMillan, in nineteen sixty three, and reaffirmed by My Rt. Hon. Friend the present Prime Minister.

These then are the recent events and some of the considerations against which we have had to decide the course of our own actions. But our actions have not only to match the events of this particular crisis as it develops, they have to fit into the broader setting of our Middle East policy as a whole.

Our interests in the Middle East notably trade - investment, as everywhere, depend upon the maintenance of conditions in which peaceful and orderly development in the area can proceed. There are some areas of the Middle East where we can contribute directly to the maintenance of these conditions. The Persian Gulf is a clear example, where our contribution has been both crucial and successful. South Arabia presents on the other hand a more complicated and difficult example, but there too we are still striving to help find the basis for these conditions and I do not despair of eventual success. But we shall be debating that subject separately on another occasion.

There are two persistent features of the Middle East situation which threaten this peaceful and orderly development. They are the bitter hostility of the Arabs towards Israel and the deep-seated division within the Arab world. As I said earlier there is also the extent to which others from outside are intervening in the situation. We deplore both of these conflicts and have no wish to take sides in either of them. But since they dominate so much of the Middle East scene, as recent events have

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demonstrated, I should like to state clearly our attitude to each of them in turn.

I do not want to be drawn into the endless argument about the rights and wrongs of the termination of the Palestine mandate and the creation of the State of Israel. It was certainly not a happy experience for this country.

But all that was a long time ago, it is a matter of great regret that it has not been possible to heal the wounds from these days and to make a final peace settlement. We understand the feelings of the Arab peoples on this subject, as as a major contributor to UNWRA we are acutely aware of the problem of the Palestinian refugees. We would like to see a fair and full settlement of the whole problem.

But, having said that, the State of Israel has now been a member of the United Nations for nearly twenty years, recognised by most Governments of the world and the Soviet Union was among the very first to do so. Two and a half million people live in Israel. This fact cannot now be ignored and recognising it cannot be attacked reasonably as "Taking sides in an Arab/ Israel dispute". We trade with Israel, as we trade with her Arab neighbours. We have friendly relations with the Israel Government, as we have or wish to have friendly relations with all her Arab neighbours.

In the same way qe do not seek either to be involved in or to encourage the dispute which has been dividing the Arab countries into two hostile camps. In our relations with Arab countries We desire to develop our connexions and relations with the Arab States of whatever political complexion, to recall and continue our participation not only in their attainment of freedom but also to further the achievements of constructive Arab nationalism.

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I recognise in Arab nationalism one of the most significant forces for change in the Middle East today. I have striven, for instance, to make an ally of it in South Arabia and despite setbacks I shall continue to strive for that. But equally I recognise that no one party, no one country, and no one group of countries has a monopoly of Arab nationalism. It is at least as strong a driving force of those who seek for peaceful change as in those who workd to pursue their aims by methods of violence.

And we must not fall into the trap of regarding or allowing others to regard our Middle East policy as a struggle to the death betwee ourselves and President Nasser. I got to know President Nasser over a long period of years and I have a high regard for him.At the same time I am not blind to his errors. I believe that he has long been following a profoundly wrong course in South Arabia and I believe that in the last two weeks he rashly adopted a policy in the Middle East which could endanger not only himself but the peace of the whole world. We are not setting out to "topple Nasser", as members opposite once foolishly attempted to do. But nor are we prepared to accept that he has the right to topple another Middle Eastern nation at the risk of plunging us all into war.

Against this background our aim in this present crisis must be to prevent confrontation which now exists bursting into a conflagration and to seek with others a negotiated settlement achieved by peaceful means.

There are many possible solutions by which the Gulf of Aqaba might be kept open on terms which both Israel and Egypt could reasonably be asked to accept.

And any solution must certainly also satisfy our own interests and those of other maritime nations concerned with the freedom of shipping there.

I am under no illusions about the difficulties either of

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maintaining the peace or of achieving out of it such a just, equitable settlement. Nor must we necessarily confine our efforts to only one forum. We must pursue our objective by every diplomatic means available to us.

Clearly the most appropriate and ultimately, were it available, the best way is to work for a settlement within the machinery of the United Nations.

Despite all the setbacks which the United Nations has received, the Charter of the United Nations does set out the basic principles which should govern the policies and actions of nations. Moreover, the main purpose of the Charter is to guarantee the integrity of all members of the United Nations, both great and small and, just at this moment, a small country, the State of Israel is being threatened.

We are proud of being a founder member of the United Nations and of being one of the permanent members of the Security Council We believe that the strength and development of this great Organisation are essential to world peace.

In the Middle East, the area which is now so disturbed, the men of the United Nations emergency force have made a real contribution to preserving peace for nearly a decade. I make no apology for referring to this as I think it is worth dwelling on it for a moment. Their sudden enforced removal symbolizes the crisis that has so suddenly broken upon us.

Here was a military force with men from Yugoslavia, India, Canada, and the Scandinavian countries which had worked together as a team and was probably the best United Nations Peacekeeping Force that had ever existed. Its disappearance is at once a sharp blow to the United Nations and to international law and order.

I must emphasise again to the House that the removal of that force at a moment when it was most needed was one of the most serious aspects of this whole business. The United

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Nations could play a tremendous role in peacekeeping. Until its members can agree amongst themselves as to how this is to be done - and here the Security Council has an absolutely vital part to play - the rule of law in the world will be gravely jeopardised.

We welcomed the initiative of U Thant, in going to Cairo, and his report draws attention to all the dangers of the present situation, including the explosive position in the Gulf. It makes various proposals for remedies. What is needed now is a breathing space to enable these proposals to be fully considered and to enable the United Nations to exercice its unique role as a conciliator. In this moderating role it must urge conciliation on both sides - on the Egyptians and on the Israelis. It is in order to gain this breathing space that my Right Honourable Friend Lord Caradon and others are working so hard at the present time to get support for some resolution in the Security Council that will in fact urge restraint and conciliation.

The Secretary-General referred in his report to the need for all concerned to "exercise special restraint, to forego belligerence and to avoid all other actions which could increase tension". We would consider as acts of belligerence any unilateral act to close the Gulf of Agaba or any acts of aggression committed by either side on the Israel/Arab border.

The main task of the United Nations is, in fact, to work hard to reduce tension on both sides and, if that is possible, to secure a reduction in the forces which have now gathered on all the Arab/Israel frontiers.

Once this conciliation and thinning-out process gets under way there will be an urgent need for some new form of United Nations presence which would help to keep the two sides apart, as UNEF did during the last ten years.

Such a United Nations presence might take many forms. It could grow out of the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organisation which played an important role on the Egyptian/Israel frontier before it was superseded by UNEF. It might be some entirely new

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body. Whatever form emerges I believe that the Secretary-General should in any case send his own personal representative to the area to help with the task of conciliation. I hope that U Thant will be able to find somebody of real political stature and experience to carry out this very difficult task.

I am sure that the responsibilities of any new United Nations body should extend to both sides of the frontier, so as to be, to some extent, independent of any one of the countries concerned. The Israelis have, unwisely in my view, rejected this in the past. We have made our view inescapable clear to the Israelis in the last few days.

These are the kind of directions in which we think the United Nations must continue to work.

British policy, as I have said, is to work in the United Nations and through the United Nations. But at the end of the day the United Nations is only the sum of its members. And there are clear limitations on it at this moment.

Speaking for ourselves, we could not be satisfied with a situation in which a numerical majority in New York are satisfied with an inequitable settlement which will merely ensure that an Arab/Israel war is inevitable sooner or later. Therefore we have not confined our diplomatic activity to New York. We have also been in touch both directly and through our Ambassadors with other Governments in their own capitals.

Although we should not make the mistake of assuming that there aren't other grave danger spots which could spark off a war. Nevertheless as I have said the centre of the present crisis seems pretty clearly to be the Gulf of Aqaba. The immediate crucial problem is freedom of navigation there. We are therefore in the closest touch with other maritime countries which share with us a vital interest in the freedom of the seas.

We have explained our own position to these other Governments. As the Prime Minister stated at Margate on

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twenty four May, this is till as it was in nineteen fifty seven, that the Straits of Tiran must be regarded as an international waterway through which the vessles of all nations have a right of passage. As the Prime Minister also ssaid, "Her Majesty's Government will assert this right on behalf of all British shipping and is prepared to join with others to secure a general recognition of this right."

Our recent diplomatic exchanges have shown that many other countries now as in nineteen fifty seven share our views on this right of free passage. We are now discussing with them what we and they can do together to assert this right and to secure its general recognition.

Lord Caradon has already publicly stated our position in the Security Council of the United Nations. But we cannot be sure that the Council will be able to agree on a clear and unequivocal statement of the position as we and others see it. We have therefore decided to consult with other like-minded nations about the issuing of a clear declaration by the international maritime community that the Gulf of Aqaba is repeat is an international waterway into which and through which the vessels of all nations have a right of passage. Such a declaration whether in an outside or in a United Nations forum -preferable as the latter would be - would I believe have a substantive part to play in maintaining and prolonging the restraint which at present enables peace to be held in the area. By so doing, it would give us the extra time to try to find the longer-term solutions about the use of the Gulf - including possibly a special convention enshrining its status, as applies to some other international waterways.

We must of course face the fact that action in the United Nations, or declarations made by nations outside the United Nations may not be enough to secure the right of innocent passage to which we and all maritime nations attach such

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importanze. It goes without saying that we shall use every diplomatic effort to see that they do. But we would be failing in our duty if we were not consulting with others concerned about the situation that would arise if these initiatives I have outlined above were to fail.

During the last week, whilst the House was in recess, the Middle East moved close to the brink of war.

Only those of us who were involved deeply in the events of last weekend know how close we came to seeing acts of war from which the waves of destruction might have spread out to engulf us all. Through the efforts of several countries, including, I am pround to say, our own, this horror was averted.

But although none of the countries of the Middle East has yet stepped over the brink, the abyss remains. Time is desparately short. Unless the international community shoulders fully its responsibilities and asserts itself to secure quickly a just and equitable settlement, a crisis more grave and more threatending will inevitably be upon us.

To avert that I pledge the untiring diplomatic efforts of this country.

TEXTE DE LA DECLARATION SUR LA SITUATION AU MOYEN-ORIENT PRONONCEE PAR M. GEORGE BROWN, SECRETAIRE D'ETAT AUX AFFAIRES ETRANGERES, A LA CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES LE 31 MAI 1967

Pour tout ce que j'ai à dire, et sans aucun doute le débat qui s'ensuivra, nous discuterons bien sûr de la situation entre les pays arabes et Israel. Mais je veux dès maintenant rappeler à la Chambre que les intérêts politiques, économiques et stratégiques de trop de pays sont impliqués au Moyen-Orient pour qu'il ne soit pas difficile de confiner une guerre qui aurait éclaté dans cette région aux pays immédiatement intéressés.

Si nous devons saisir la perspective juste de la crise arabo israelienne, nous devons la considérer dans un contexte plus large.

Il est un fait que le plus gros risque de guerre que nous affrontons aujourd'hui ne découle pas tellement d'une inimitié croissante entre Israel et les Etats arabes; pas tellement d'un échec des Nations unies ayant retiré précipitamment la force d'urgence des Nations unies, mais bien du fait que depuis pas mal de temps d'énormes quantités de canons, de blindés et d'avions ont été déversés dans cette région non pas destinés aux conflits locaux de cette région, mais pour changer l'équilibre de puissance du monde.

C'est pourquoi ce doit être la base de ce que j'ai à dire, car bien que nous parlions maintenant surtout de la querelle arabo-israelienne et des moyens d'empêcher de s'intensifier, et ce serait bien audacieux de dire que règler les problèmes immédiats d'aujourd'hui éliminerait les risques de guerre dans cette région.

Après avoir dit celà, et malgré la rapidité soudaine de l'éclatement de la crise,il ne faut pas oublier la querelle intraitable qui existe de longue date entre les pays Arabes et Israel.

Les Nations unies ont essayé il y a vingt ans de resoudre ce problème. Malgré de nombreux efforts, on n'a pas pu arriver à un accord permanent: mais c'est là - et peut-être plus que partout ailleurs dans le monde - que les Nations unies ont pu jouer un rôle vital et constructif en empêchant les feux de s'enflammer.

Depuis 1957 jusqu'à il y a un an environ, il y a eu de graves flambées. Dans le sud entre l'Egypte et Israel, la force d'urgence des Nations unies a fait office d'amortisseur entre les deux parties

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de sorte qu'il n'y eut pour ainsi dire pas d'incidents. L'ONU avait aussi un détachement à Sharm Esh Sheikh à l'extrémité de la péninsule du Sinai: c'est sur la base de l'accord selon lequel ce détachement resterait là, et sur la base de déclarations fermes que le passage resterait libre à la navigation dans le Golfe d'Akaba que les Israeliens retirèrent finalement leurs troupes du Sinai au début 1957.

Sur les lignes d'armistice ailleurs, il y a eu davantage d'accidents, mais le chef d'Etat-major de l'ONU, avec l'organisation du contrôle de la trève de l'ONU et son corps d'observateurs, a oeuvré pour empêcher la tension de monter.

Au cours de l'an dernier, cependant, une nouvelle forme dangereuse d'incidents s'est fait jour: des groupes de terroristes se sont infiltrés en Israel et ont placé des explosifs sur des routes, des ponts, des lignes de chemin-de-fer. Les pertes et dommages n'ont pas été importants, mais ils ont obligé le gouvernement d'Israel à prendre des mesures de rétorsion contre le territoire des pays voisins d'où ils étaient venus.

Nous avons toujours exposé clairement notre opinion selon laquelle les gouvernements intéressés ont le devoir d'empêcher que des attaques viennent de leur propre pays contre leurs voisins: qu'il est inexcusable de dégager sa responsabilité de ces attaques et encore plus inexcusable de louer publiquement ceux qui les ont perpétrées, comme l'ont fait les Syriens. Mais nous avons de même exposé clairement nos vues à Israel que la rétorsion n'est pas la bonne réponse et qu'elle est dangereuse car personne ne sait où elle se termine.

Malheureusement, au Conseil de Sécurité, le plus haut organe des Nations unies chargé du maintien de la paix, il y a une situation décevante.

Nous mêmes et d'autres avons essayé d'éviter de prendre parti, de juger les cas selon leurs mérites à la lumière des preuves apportées par l'organisation du contrôle de la trève de l'ONU, et de faire appel à toutes lesparties pour coopérer à la préservation de la paix.

L'attitude soviétique a été différente. Il y a vingt ans, les soviétiques ont appuyé la résolution de l'Assemblée générale qui mena à la création d'Israel. En 1955, ils ont changé brusquement leur politique- et on ne peut s'empêcher de dire que ce le fut cyniquement - et ont depuis pris parti dans leurs actes et leur manière d'agir. Lorsque le gouvernement d'Israel

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est fautif, le Conseil de Sécurité le critique avec justice,et on peut adopter une resolution comprenant cette critique. Quand un gouvernement arabe est fautif, le véto soviétique est utilisé contre toute résolution critiquant ce gouvernement.

Par exemple, en automne dernier lorsque le gouvernement d'Israel saisit le Conseil de sécurité d'une plainte concernant un raid terroriste dans le nord d'Israel, aucune action ne s'ensuivit. Peu après le gouvernement d'Israel organisa une attaque contre le village de Samu en Jordanie. Nous avons publiquement critiqué son action qui était alors injustifiée et inefficace. Le Conseil de sécurité adopta une résolution le condamnant. Il n'y a évidemment pas d'équité dans cette situation, dans cette approche double.

Cette forme d'incidents et de rétorsion a continué cette année. Le Secrétaire-général des Nations unies a essayé de calmer cette situation en utilisant la Commission mixte d'amistice israelo-syrienne qui avait été jusqu'alors boycotté par Israel. Nous avons pleinement appuyé son initiative. La Commission s'est réunie à plusieurs reprises, mais malgré les efforts de cette Commission, les attaques terroristes contre Israel se sont renouvelées.

Après un incident dans la zone démilitarisée au sud du lac de Tibériade au début du mois d'avril, Israel attaqua les positions défensives syrienne par avion. En termes purement militaires, cette attaque fut couronnée de succès. Mais le danger d'escalade était manifeste.

En dehors de la propagande habituelle, on doit reconnaître qu'au cours de cette période, malgré l'attaque d'autres pays arbes, la RAU a fait montre d'une modération notable.

Vers le milieu de mai, les leaders israeliens ont dit à propos des dernières incursions en provenance de la Syrie, qu'ils ne pouvaient continuer à les tolérer.

C'est peut-être à cause de ces déclarations qu'on commença , à tort selon nos informations, à croire qu'une attaque à grande échelle allait avoir lieu contre la Syrie.

C'est alors, le 14 ou le 15 mai, que le gouvernement de la République Arabe Unie a commencé à prendre des mesures de précaution militaire ostentatoires. Le 16 mai, il prit la grave décision de demander le retrait de la force d'urgence des Nations unies.

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J'ai déjà parlé du rôle de cette force. Je vais me rapporter à elle encore un instant. Elle fut mise sur pied en 1956 pour contrôler le retrait des forces anglo-françaises et israeliennes du territoire egyptien. Elle est restée depuis sur la frontière du Sinai pour faire usage de tampon entre Israel et la République Arabe Unie.

Il y aura sans aucun doute des arguments légaux sans fin sur la position juridique de l'action du Président Nasser. Mais à mon avis là n'est pas la question. On peut sympathiser avec le Secrétaire Général confronté avec cette demande, mais il n'est pas juste que lorsque l'on sait qu'un incendie va s'allumer d'ordonner à la brigade des pompiers de s'en aller.

Il ne s'agit pas seulement de cela mais encore de toutes les implications. Même si la force d'urgence n'est pas la raison unique du calme relatif qui a été maintenu au cours des dix dernières années, elle a cependant joué un très grand rôle et a démontré ce que peut faire l'ONU pour le maintien de la paix. Mais retirer cette force de cette manière devait jeter un doute sur la véracité de ces efforts ailleurs et risque donc d'intensifier d'autres problèmes et tensions ailleurs dans le monde.

La décision fut néanmoins prise, et le Secrétaire-Général décida, sans consulter les organes appropriés de l'ONU, qu'il devait accepter le retrait de cette force. Cette action a clairement altéré et transformé toute la situation d'une manière importante et matérielle.

Ayant obtenu ce résultat, avec une facilité inattendue, le Président Nasser a annoncé le 23 mai qu'à la suite du retrait du détachement de la force d'Urgence de l'ONU de Sharm Esh Shiekh, son gouvernement avait l'intention de fermer le détroit de Tiran aux navires et au transport de marchandises stratégiques vers Israel.

Il y a là deux aspects graves. Le gouvernement d'Israel a déclaré en 1957 qu'il considèrerait toute intervention dans sa navi ation comme un acte d'agression lui donnant le droit de pendre des mesures défensives aux termes de l'article 51 de la Charte. Il y avait là un risque grave de conflit militaire découlant de cette situation.

Ce n'est pas là - question plus large - un problème regardant uniquement Israel et la RAU. C'est aussi un problème ragardant toutes les nations intéressées dans le mouvement sans entrave de la navigation dans toutes les parties du monde. Notre délégué à l'Assemblée générale en 1957 a déclaré que

"Le détroit de Tiran doit être considéré comme une voie maritime internationale, par lequel les navires de toutes les

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nations ont droit de passage.

3 Le gouvernement britannique fera respecter ce droit au nom de la navigation britannique, et est prêt à se joindre à d'autres pour assurer une reconnaissance générale de ce droit".

D'autres délégués ont fait des déclarations similaires sinon plus énergiques. Incidemment, certaines de ces déclarations sont fort intéressantes à lire maintenant - et les Membres de la Chambre peuvent avoir le désir de les lire. Elles sont contenues dans les rapports officiels de l'Assemblée générale (XIème session, réunions plénières de 1956-57, volume 2).

Comme vous le savez, le Premier Ministre a réaffirmé la position du gouvernement britannique à ce sujet en termes similaires la semaine dernière.

Ce n'est pas là un problème uniquement légal. Il comporte de grosses conséquences tant politiques qu'économiques. Ses répercussions pourraient affecter les droits de navigation dans de nombreuses parties du monde, y compris, cela doit être noté, certaines voies maritimes de sortie de l'Union Soviétique.

Il faut noter en passant que cette décision a été annoncée alors que le Secrétaire-Général des Nations unies était sur le chemin du Caire pour discuter avec le gouvernement de la RAU des moyens de règler la situation grave qui règne.

Comme le sait la Chambre, je me suis rendu à Moscou à ce moment-là, et au cours de mes conversations avec les leaders soviétiques, j'ai été convaincu que le gouvernement soviétique - malgré leur déclaration publique et son parti-pris - était en fait très inquiet de la situation au Moyen-Orient et désireux de l'empêcher de s'étendre.

Je leur ai fait remarquer l'importance que nous attachons aux mesures immédiates pour que tous, dans cette région, fassent preuve de modération, et à la nécessité d'utiliser le temps ainsi obtenu pour trouver des solutions acceptables aux problèmes créés - et en particulier celui de la navigation dans le Golfe d'Akaba.

J'ai aussi saisi l'occasion de faire une conférence publique à Moscou - l'une de si peu nombreuses occasions offertes à un représentant d'une puissance occidentale- pour exposer le même point au public. Voici ce que j'ai dit:"Votre pays est une très grande puissance. C'est un fait. Cela vous impose de grandes responsabilités, et en particulier celle d'utiliser cette puissance pour le maintien de la paix dans le monde. Cette

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responsabilité exige à la fois de la modération et de l'imagination créatrice. Je vous demande de considérer la situation au Moyen-Orient en pensant à cette responsabilité".

En tant que membre des Nations unies, nous, dans ce pays, avec d'autres membres permanents du Conseil de Sécurité, y compris comme je l'ai dit l'Union Soviétique, avons accueilli favorablement l'admission d'Israel. Nous devons continuer de chercher à trouver un moyen pour qu'Israel puisse vivre sans crainte de ses voisins et que ses voisins vivent sans crainte d'Israel. C'est là la responsabilité de la Russie tout autant que celle des autres pays du monde.

Au même moment, le gouvernement français a proposé que des conversations aient lieu entre les U.S.A., l'U.R.S.S., la France et la Grande-Bretagne pour rechercher une solution à ce problème. De notre côté, nous avons accepté cette proposition et en avons informé les trois autres gouvernements. J'ai cependant le regret de dire à la Chambre que le gouvernement soviétique a refusé de prendre part à ces discussions.

Il y a eu des discussions sur la déclaration tripartite de 1950. J'ai expliqué l'attitude du gouvern ment britannique à l'égard de cette déclaration en réponse à une question parlementaire le 19 décembre dernier, et la situation est la même depuis. Cette déclaration était celle de trois gouvernements sur leurs intentions concernant la fourniture d'armes à cette région. Elle montrait leur opposition à l'usage de la force dans cette région et leur intention de prendre toute action désirable s'il était fait usage dela force ou s'il y avait menace d'utiliser la force.

La situation a entièrement changé depuis cette date. Nous ne tenons pas à jouer un rôle spécial dans la querelle arabo-israelienne. En tant que membre permanent du Conseil de Sécurité, le gouvernement britannique a le devoir de soutenir les efforts pour maintenir la paix partout: nous avons un intérêt profond à ce que la paix et la stabilité règnent au Moyen-Orient, et nous avons bien entendu des intérêts nationaux très importants dans cette région. Mais nous considérons que les Nations Unies sont les principales

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responsables du maintien de la paix. Par ces mots, je paraphrase ce qu'avait dit le Premier Ministre d'alors, M. Harold Macmillan, en 1963, et qu'a réaffirmé mon honorable ami l'actuel Premier Ministre.

Voilà comment se sont déroulés les derniers évènements, et les quelques considérations qui ont fait que nous devions décider du cours de nos propres actions. Mais nos actions ne doivent pas seulement s'harmoniser avec les évènements de cette crise au fur et à mesure que celle-ci se développe, mais ils doivent entrer dans le contexte élargi de notre politique au Moyen-Orient dans son ensemble.

Nos intérêts au Moyen-Orient, et en particulier l'investissement commercial, dependent comme ailleurs du maintien des conditions permettant au développement dela région de progresser dans l'ordre et la paix. Nous pouvons, dans certaines régions du Moyen-Orient, contribuer directement au maintien de ces conditions. Le Golfe Persique est un exemple évident de notre contribution qui y a été cruciale et très satisfaisante. L'Arabie du Sud présente d'autre part un exemple plus compliqué et difficile, mais là aussi nous luttons pour trouver une base à ces conditions et je ne désespère pas d'arriver à un succès. Mais nous discuterons de ce sujet séparément en une autre occasion.

Deux traits de la situation au Moyen-Orient menacent ce développement pacifique et ordonné. Ce sont l'hostilité des Arabes à l'encontre d'Israel et la profonde division du monde Arabe. Ainsi que je l'ai déjà dit, il y a aussi l'intervention extérieure. Nous déplorons ces deux conflits et ne désirons acunement prendre parti pour

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pour l'un ou l'autre. Mais, étant donné qu'ils dominent ainsi la scène moyen-orientale, comme les récents évènements l'ont démontré, je voudrais exposer clairement notre attitude à leur égard.

Je ne veux pas m'enliser dans les arguties concernant le pour et le contre de la fin du mandat de la Palestine et la création de l'Etat d'Israel. Ce ne fut certainement pas une heureuse expérience pour ce pays.

Mais cela eut lieu il y a longtemps. Il est à regretter qu'il n'ait pas été possible de guérir les blessures de cette époque et d'arriver à un accord de paix définitif. Nous comprenons les sentiments des Arabes à ce sujet, et en tant que pays contribuant à l'UNRWA, nous connaissons avec précision les problèmes des réfugiés palestiniens. Nous voudrions que ce problème soit règlé dans son ensemble avec justice.

Mais l'Etat d'Israel est membre des Nations unies depuis près de vingt ans, il a été reconnu par la plupart des gouvernements, et l'Union Soviétique a été parmi les premiers à le faire. Deux millions et demi de personnes vivent en Israel. On en peut maintenant ignorer ce fait et le reconnaître ne peut être attaqué comme étant une "prise de position dans la querelle Arabe/Israelienne". Nous commerçons avec Israel tout comme nous commerçons avec ses voisins arabes. Nous avons des relations amicales avec le gouvernement d'Israel, tout comme nous avons ou désirons avoir des relations amicales avec ses voisins arabes.

De même, nous ne cherchons pas à ce que l'un d'entre eux soit impliqué ou encouragêt la querelle qui divise les pays arabes en deux camps hostiles. Dans nos relations avec les pays arabes, nous désirons développer nos rapports avec les Etats arabes quelle que soit leur couleur politique, rappeler et continuer notre participation non seulement dans l'obtention de leur liberté mais aussi dans leurs réussites du nationalisme Arabe.

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Je reconnais dans le nationalisme arabe l'une des principales forces de changement dans le Moyen-Orient d'aujourd'hui. J'ai lutté par exemple pour m'en faire un allié en Arabie du Sud et malgré quelques pas en arrière je continuera à lutter pour cela. Mais je reconnais aussi qu'aucun parti, aucun pays, aucun groupe de pays ne peut se targuer d'avoir le monopole du nationalisme arabe. C'est autant la force motrice de ceux qui recherchent un changment pacifique que de ceux qui cherchent à attendre leurs but par des méthodes violentes.

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Et nous devons pas tomber dans le piège consistant à considérer ou à permettre aux autres de considérer notre politique au Moyen-Orient comme étant une lutte à mort entre nous-mêmes et le Président Nasser. J'ai appris à connaître le Président Nasser au cours de longues années et j'ai une haute amitié pour lui. Mais je ne suis pas aveugle quant à ses erreurs. Je suis certain qu'il a suivi depuis longtemps une mauvaise route en Arabie du Sud et je suis certain qu'au cours des deux dernières semaines, il a imprudemment adopté une politique au Moyen Orient qui pourrait mettre en danger non seulement lui-même mais aussi la paix du monde entier.
Nous ne partons pas pour "renverser Nasser", ainsi que les membres de l'opposition l'ont follement fait une fois. Mais nous ne sommes pas prêts à accepter qu'il ait le droit de renverser une autre nation moyen-orientale au risque de nous plonger tous dans la guerre.

Sur cet arrière-plan, notre but, dans la crise actuelle, doit être d'empêcher la confrontation d'éclater en conflagration et de rechercher avec d'autres un règlement négocié par des moyens pacifiques.

Il existe de nombreuses solutions permettant que le Golfe d'Akaba soit tenu ouvert, sur desternes pouvant être acceptés tant par Israel que par l'Egypte.

Toute solution doit aussi, sans aucune doute, satisfaire notre propre intérêt et celui des autres nations maritimes intéressées par la liberté de navigation dans le Golfe.

Je n'ai aucune illusion sur les difficultés soit pour maintenir la paix soit pour arriver à un accord juste et équitable. Nous ne devons pas non plus nous contenter de porter nos efforts sur un seul forum. Nous devons poursuivre notre objectif par tous les moyens diplomatiques possibles.

Il est évident que le meilleur moyen de mettre au point un règlement est celui des Nations unies.

Malgré tous les retours en arrières des Nations unies, La Charte des Nations unies expose les principes de base qui devraient gouverner les politiques et les actions des nations. En outre, le but principal de la Charte est de garantir l'intégrité de tous les membres des Nations unies, petits et grands, et, juste en ce moment, un petit pays, l'Etat d'Israel, est menacé.

Nous sommes fiers d'être un membre fondateur des Nations unies et d'être l'un des membres permanents du Conseil de Sécurité.
Nous sommes persuadés que la force et le développement de cette

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grande organisationsont essentiels à la paix mondiale.

Au Moyen-Orient, région troublée actuellement, les hommes de la Force d'urgence des Nations unies ont réellement contribué à la préservation de la paix pendant près d'une décade. Je ne m'excuse pas de m'y référer car je pense que cela vaut la peine de s'y arrêter. Leur retrait soudain symbolise la crise qui vient de s'ouvrir devant nous.

Il y avait là une force militaire Yougoslave, Indienne, Canadienne,scandinave, dont les hommes ont oeuvré ensemble, en équipe, et furent probablement la meilleure force de maintien de la paix de l'ONU qui ait jamais existé. Sa disparition est un coup dur pour les Nations unies et pour l'ordre international.

Je dois de nouveau mettre l'accent, devant la Chambre, sur le fait que le retrait de cette force à ce moment, alors qu'on en avait le plus grand besoin, est l'un des aspects les plus graves de tout le problème. Les Nations unies pouvaient jouer le plus grand rôle pour le maintien de la paix. Jusqu'à ce que les membres de l'ONU puissent se mettre d'accord sur le moyen de le faire - et là le Conseil de Sécurité a un rôle vital à jouer - la loi de l'ordre dans le monde sera en grave danger.

Nous avons accueilli avec satisfaction l'intiative de U Thant d'aller au Caire, et son rapport attire l'attention sur tous les dangers que comporte la situation actuelle, y compris la situation explosive dans le golfe. Il fait diverses propositions pour y remédier.Ce dont on a besoin maintenant c'est une période de calme pour pouvoir considérer ses propositions dans leur ensemble et permettre à L'ONU d'exercer son rôle unique de conciliateur. De par son rôle modérateur, elle doit demander la conciliation aux deux parties - les égyptiens et les Israeliens. C'est pour arriver à cette période de calme que mon honorable ami Lord Caradon et d'autres oeuvrent actuellement pour obtenir l'appui pour une résolution du Conseil de Sécurité qui demanderait en fait la modération et le conciliation.

Le Secrétaire-Général se référait dans son rapport à la nécessité pour tous les intéressés de "montrer une modération spéciale, de s'abstenir de toute belligérence et d'éviter tout acte pouvant accroître la rension".Nous considérons comme acte de belligérence tout acte unilatéral fermant le Golfe d'Akaba ou tout acte d'agression commis par l'une des parties sur la frontière Israelo-arabe.

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La tâche principale des Nations unies est, en fait, de mettre tout en oeuvre pour réduire la tension des deux côtés et, si possible, d'arriver à ce que les forces en présence soient réduites sur les frontières israelo-arabes.

Dès que ce processus de conciliation et de réduction des forces commencera, il faudra nécessairement une nouvelle forme de présence des Nations unies qui aiderait les deux parties à se tenir loin l'une de l'autre ainsi que l'a fait la force d'urgence de l'ONU au cours des dix dernières années.

Une présence des Nations unies pourrait prendre des formes variées. Elle pourrait provenir de l'organisation du contrôle de la trève des Nations unies qui joua un rôle important sur la frontière egypto-israelienne avant son remplacement par la force d'urgence. Elle pourrait aussi être un organisme entièrement nouveau. Quelles que soient les formes que cette présence prendrait, je crois que le Secrétaire-Général devrait en tous cas envoyer son représentant personnel dans cette région pour apporter son aide à la conciliation. J'espère que U Thant pourra trouver quelqu'un ayant une importance politique et beaucoup d'expérience pour mener à bien cette tâche si difficile.

Je suis certain que les responsabilités de tout nouvel organisme devraient couvrir les deux côtés de la frontière afin de garder son indépendance des pays concernés. Les Israéliens ont, à tort à mon avis, repoussé cette idée par le passé. Nous avons exposé clairement notre opinion aux israeliens au cours des tous derniers jours.

Voilà les directions que devraient suivre les Nations unies.

La politique britannique, ainsi que je l'ai dit, est d'oeuvrer aux Nations unies et par l'intermédiaire des Nations unies. Mais au bout du compte, l'ONU n'est que la somme de ses membres. Et elle est actuellement limitée.

Parlant pour nous, ne ne pouvions être satisfaits d'une situation dans laquelle une majorité numérique est satisfaite à New York d'un règlement inéquitable assurant simplement qu'une guerre arabo-israelienne est inévitable, tôt ou tard. Nous avons aussi été en contact direct et aussi par l'intermédiaire de nos ambassadeurs avec d'autres gouvernements dans leurs capitales.

Bien que nous ne devrions pas faire l'erreur d'assumer qu'il n'y a pas d'autres points pouvant mettre le feu à la guerre, le

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le centre de la crise actuelle semble être nettement le Golfe d'Akaba. Le problème immédiat, et crucial, est la liberté de la navigation dans ce golfe. Nous sommes donc en contact étroit avec d'autres nations maritimes qui partagent avec nous un intérêt vital dans la liberté des mers.

Nous avons expliqué notre position à ces gouvernements. Ainsi que l'a déclaré le Premier Ministre à Margate le 24 mai, de même qu'en 1957, le détroit de Tiran doit être considéré comme une voie maritime internationale où tous les navires de toutes nations ont droit de passage. Comme le Premier Ministre l'a encore dit, "le gouvernement britannique fera respecter ses droits au nom de tous les navires britanniques et est prêt à se joindre à d'autres pour assurer une reconnaissance générale de ce droit".

Nos derniers échanges diplomatiques ont montré que beaucoup de pays, comme en 1957, partagent nos vues sur ce droit de passage. Nous sommes en train de discuter avec eux ce que nous pouvons faire ensemble pour faire respecter ce droit et assurer sa reconnaissance générale.

Lord Caradon a déjà exposé publiquement notre position au Conseil de Sécurité des Nations unies. Mais nous ne pouvons pas être sûrs que le Conseil pourra accepter une déclaration nette et claire de la position comme nous mêmes et d'autres la voyons. Nous avons donc décidé de consulter d'autres nations ayant les mêmes idées sur une déclaration claire par la communauté maritime internationale à savoir que le Golfe d'Akaba est une voie maritime internationale par laquelle les navires de toutes les nations ont droit de passage. Une telle déclaration sur ou en dehors du forum des Nations unies, bien que celui des Nations unies soit préférable, aurait, à mon avis, un rôle important à jouer pour maintenir et prolonger la modération permettant la paix de continuer dans cette région. Ainsi nous aurions davantage de temps pour essayer de trouver des solutions à long terme de l'utilisation du Golfe - y compris peut-être une convention spéciale pour son statut, comme pour certaines autres voies maritimes internationales.

Nous devons bien entendu affronter le fait qu'une action aux Nations unies, ou des déclarations par des nations en dehors de l'ONU pourraient ne pas suffire à assurer le passage légitime auquel nous mêmes et toutes les nations maritimes attachent tant d'importance. Il va sans dire que nous l'espérons: il va sans dire aussi que nous ferons tout ce qui est possible par voie diplomatique. Mais

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manquerions à notre devoir si nous ne consultions pas les autres intéressés à propos de la situation qui découleraient si ces initiatives exposées plus haut échouaient.

Au cours de la semaine dernière, pendant l'intercession de la Chambre, le Moyen-Orient s'est trouvé à deux doigts de la guerre.

Seulement ceux d'entre nous qui avons été impliqués dans les évènements du dernier week-end savent combien nous avons été près de voir des actes de guerre dont les vagues de destruction auraient pu nous faire sombrer tous. Grâce aux efforts de plusieurs pays, y compris, je suis fier de le dire, le nôtre, cette horreur a été évitée.

Mais bien qu'aucun pays du Moyen-Orient n'ait encore dépassé le seuil de la guerre, le gouffre est toujours présent. Nous manquons désespérément de temps. A moins que la communauté internationale ne prennent toutes ses responsabilités et et fasse respecter ses droits pour assurer rapidement un règlement juste et équitable, une crise encore plus grave et plus dangereuse va nous affronter.

Pour l'éviter, j'engage tous les efforts inlassables de la diplomatie de notre pays.

1076

FM. TUNIS No. 41 SAVING TO Rabat

En Clair

TUNIS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Telno. 113 31 May, 1967

UNCLASSIFIED

En above. 8/6

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 113 of 31 May.
Repeated for information Saving to: U.K. Mission New York, Washington, Paris, Moscow, Damascus, Amman, Baghdad, Jedda, Beirut, Cairo, Tripoli, Benghazi, Algiers, Rabat, Khartoum, Kuwait, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem

Arab-Israel.

In a debate in National Assembly on 29 May the Foreign Minister re-affirmed Tunisian support for the Arab position vis-à-vis Israel. His speech included sharp references to U.A.R. policy to date notably previous Egyptian inaction in face of Israeli attacks on Jordan and Syria, the Yemen war, Hassouna's abortive visit to Bonn and Egyptian suspension of repayments to I.M.F. N. Bourgiba Junior made it clear that Tunisia did not feel obliged to give "her unconditional support to any Arab State in the Middle East". It was for this reason that her declaration of solidarity had been addressed to the Arab League. He confirmed however that Tunisia would now be ready to take part in any consultations required by the crisis. Minister of Defence confirmed Tunisia would stand with her fellow Arabs in event of a clash with Israel.

2. Assembly passed a motion endorsing President Bourgiba's Arab policy and the execution of all positive decisions ensuing therefor.

Foreign Office please pass Saving U.K. Mission New York 1, Washington 1, Paris 2, Moscow 1, Damascus 1, Amman 1, Baghdad 1, Jedda 1, Beirut 1, Cairo 3, Tripoli 1, Benghazi 1, Algiers 1, Rabat 1, Khartoum 1, Kuwait 1, Tel Aviv 1 and Jerusalem 1.

Mr. Hooper

Sent 1448Z 31 May
Recd. 1621Z 31 May

[Repeated as requested]

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-6 JUN 1967

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42 Rabat

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PRIORITY TUNIS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Telno. 114 31 May 1967

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Saved. 8/6

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 114 of 31 May
Repeated for information Saving to UKMIS New York, Washington, Paris, Moscow, Damascus, Amman, Baghdad, Jedda, Beirut, Cairo, Tripoli, Benghazi, Algiers, Rabat, Khartoum, Kuwait, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

My telegram No. 105. 1076.

In a conversation with a member of my staff on 30 May, the Assistant Political Director at the Foreign Ministry, Fezzani, broadly confirmed analysis of the Tunisian position in my telegram under reference.

2. Fezzani's interpretation of the crisis was that Nasser had swiftly seized an opportunity to play his master card of Palestine, obliging the other Arabs to rally round under his aegis once more. In a short space of time he had made up the ground he had lost in recent years.

3. The Tunisians thought, however, that Nasser had not expected U Thant to accede so precipitately to his request for withdrawal of the United Nations troops. He had probably expected that it would give rise to discussion and bargaining in the United Nations and elsewhere as a result of which he would eventually have been able to accede to urgent pleas to allow the Force to remain. He had also doubtless not expected U Thant to descend on Cairo so rapidly. Fezzani agreed that U Thant's rapid withdrawal of the United Nations Force had been a mistake.

4. Tunisia had thus been obliged to speak out: otherwise she would have been exposed to serious accusations of betraying the Arab cause. She was also ready ro send troops if it came to a shooting war. But the Tunisians were optimistic that the present crisis would blow over eventually. They had been encouraged by Press despatches from Israel, to think that the Israelis were remaining calm. Fezzani thought that both Nasser and the Israelis had more to lose than to gain by provoking hostilities. It was, however, Jordan which was most exposed at present.

5. The Tunisian analysis thus seems confident and optimistic enough. But I think they may be under-estimating Israeli sensitivity to guerilla operations from both Syria and Gaza, and to blockade of the Tiran Strait.

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TUNIS TELEGRAM NO. 114 TO FOREIGN OFFICE

-2-

Foreign Office pass Saving to UKMIS New York 2, Washington 2, Paris 3, Moscow 2, Damascus 2, Amman 2, Baghdad 2, Jedda 2, Beirut 2, Cairo 4, Tripoli 2, Benghazi 2, Algiers 2, Rabat 2, Khartoum 2, Kuwait 2, Tel Aviv 2 and Jerusalem 2.

Mr. Hooper

Sent 1612Z/31 May
Received 2136Z/31 May

[Repeated as requested]

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With the exception of the first para (which is unfortunate here) this is merely a résumé of the S of S's speech. No action beyond the reference in my letter to Mr. Chorfi.

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VERBATIM SERVICE 223/67 THURSDAY 1ST JUNE 1967

MIDDLE EAST : P.M. WINDING UP DEBATE

FOLLOWINGNARE EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH BY PRIME MINISTER HAROLD WILSON WINDING UP IN THE DEBATE ON THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON WEDNESDAY 31 MAY.

IN THE PAST, WARS HAVE BEEN THREATENED AND WARS HAVE BEEN FOUGHT BETWEEN SOVEREIGN STATES WHO, RECOGNISING ONE ANOTHER'S EXISTENCE AND RECOGNISING ONE AND ANOTHER'S RIGHT TO EXIST, NEVERTHELESS HAD DEEP DIFFERENCES OF NATIONAL INTEREST OR IMAGINED NATIONAL INTEREST, CLAIMS ON TERRITORY, OR CLAIMS OF PERSECUTION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES, OR WHATEVER IT MIGHT BE, AND THOSE FEELINGS HAVE LED TO WAR. BUT THE CHARACTERISTIC OF THIS SITUATION IS THE DECLARED AIM OF ONE SIDE NOT TO WIN CONCESSIONS FROM THE OTHER. THEIR DEMAND IS THAT ISRAEL SHOULD CEASE TO EXIST - INDEED HAS NEVER EXISTED.

THERE IS, I THINK, THE CLEAR DESIRE AND DETERMINATION ON ALL SIDES TO URGE RESTRAINT AND TO PREVENT THE FIRST FATAL STEP FROM BEING TAKEN BY EITHER SIDE.

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NO ONE WILL DOUBT THE SINCERITY WITH WHICH THE UNITED STATES, WE OURSELVES AND FRANCE HAVE URGED THE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT DURING THIS PAST WEEK, WHATEVER PROVOCATION MIGHT HAVE BEEN THOUGHT TO EXIST. EQUALLY, I FULLY ACCEPT - INDEED MY RIGHT HON. FRIEND THE FOREIGN SECRETARY WAS GIVEN EVIDENCE OF THIS ON HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW LAST WEEK - THE SINCERITY OF THE SOVIET UNION IN DESIRING AND URGING RESTRAINT AT THIS CRITICAL TIME. HERE AT LEAST WE HAVE COMMON GROUND WHICH, DESPITE ALL DISAPPOINTMENTS - DISAPPOINTMENTS ABOUT THE FATE OF THE FRENCH PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL FOR FOUR-POWER TALKS - COULD PROVIDE A BASIS FOR CO-OPERATION AND CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE FOUR GREAT POWERS TO HELP ALL CONCERNED TO WORK THEIR WAY TOWARDS A NEGOTIATED AND HONOURABLE SETTLEMENT. WE HAVE URGED - AND I WAS GLAD THAT THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION SUPPORTED THIS TODAY -THAT THE UNITED NATIONS PRESENTS, OR MIGHT PRESENT, THE RIGHT FORUM FOR QUADRUPARTITE CO-OPERATION OF THIS KIND TO BEGIN....

''WHILE WE MUST HOPE AND FEEL THAT WE NOW HAVE A SHORT BREATHING SPACE - THAT VIEW HAS BEEN EXPRESSED ON BOTH SIDES TODAY - AND WHILE EVERY MINUTE OF THAT SHORT BREATHING SPACE MUST BE USED TO WORK FOR PEACE - WHILE THAT MUST BE OUR HOPE -TIME IS CERTAINLY NOT ON THE SIDE OF PEACE...

''THE POSITION OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE FREEDOM OF PASSAGE (THROUGH THE STRAITS OF TIRAN) , I MADE CLEAR ABOUT A WEEK AGO IN A SPEECH IN THE COUNTRY, AND THIS WAS REPEATED BY MR RIGHT HON FRIEND THIS AFTERNOON. IT REPEATED THE STATEMENT THAT WAS MADE ON BEHALF OF BRITAIN IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEBATE TEN YEARS AGO. IT REMAINS OUR POSITION, AND THE GOVERNMENT TODAY HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE VERY WIDE SUPPORT GIVEN TO IT BY RIGHT HON. AND HON. MEMBERS IN ALL PARTS OF THE HOUSE.

''IT IS THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS THAT, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, WE SHALL SEEK TO SECURE ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE THAT WAS LAID DOWN. IT IS THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS THAT, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, WE SHALL SEEK TO GET EFFECTIVE AGREEMENT ON THE PART OF ALL CONCERNED TO SEE THAT THAT PRINCIPLE CONTINUES TO HOLD GOOD AND THAT THE RIGHT OF THE INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY IS MAINTAINED...

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''WHILE, SO FAR AS THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS CONCERNED, OUR POSITION HAS BEEN MADE CLEAR IN NEW YORK AND WHILE WE SHALL CONTINUE TO PRESS IT THERE, ABOVE ALL, I FEEL THAT OUR DECISION WAS RIGHT TO CONSULT WITH OTHER LIKE-MINDED NATIONS - AND HERE I AM THINKING OF THE MARITIME NATIONS - ABOUT THE ISSUING OF A CLEAR DECLARATION BY THE INTERNATIONAL MARITIME COMMUNITY THAT THE GULF OF AQABA IS AN INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY AND THAT THE STRAITS OF TIRAN DO PROVIDE AN INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY INTO WHICH AND THROUGH WHICH THE VESSELS OF ALL NATIONS HAVE A RIGHT OF PASSAGE. FOR THE SAME REASON AS MY RIGHT HON FRIEND SAID, IF OUR OTHER DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS DID NOT PRODUCE THE DESIRED RESULTS AND SUCH A DECLARATION OF ITSELF FAILED TO SECURE THE RIGHT OF INNOCENT PASSAGE TO WHICH WE AND OTHER MARITIME NATIONS ATTACH SUCH IMPORTANCE, WE SHOULD BE FAILING IN OUR DUTY IF WE WERE NOT NOW CONSULTING WITH THOSE CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION WHICH WOULD THEN ARISE AND WHAT ACTION WOULD THEN BE APPROPRIATE TO ENSURE THAT THE OBJECTIVE WHICH WE HAVE IN MIND IS FULFILLED....

''THE HOUSE WILL NOT EXPECT ME TO SAY MORE ABOUT WHAT WE WILL DO, OR WHAT WE FEEL IT WILL BE RIGHT TO DO, IF, FIRST, ACTION THROUGH THE SECURITY COUNCIL PROVES INEFFECTIVE, OR THE MERE ISSUING OF A DECLARATION FAILS TO MAINTAIN THE FREEDOM OF PASSAGE THROUGH THESE STRAITS. ALL OF US HERE RECOGNISE THAT TIME IS NOT ON OUR SIDE, AND I THINK IT IS RECOGNISED THAT ONE OF THE SIGNIFICANT FACTS WHICH HAS SO FAR PREVENTED ACTION OF A KIND WHICH COULD HAVE ESCALATED IN A WAY WHICH WE ALL KNOW IT COULD, INDEED ONE OF THE SIGNIFICANT FACTS WHICH I BELIEVE LAST WEEKEND PREVENTED SUCH ACTION BEING TAKEN, WITH ALL THE DREAD CONSEQUENCES WHICH WOULD HAVE FOLLOWED, HAS BEEN THE ASSERTION OF THE OBVIOUS CONCERN OF OURSELVES AND OTHER MARITIME NATIONS ABOUT THE CONTINUED RIGHT OF FREE PASSAGE THROUGH THIS AS THROUGH OTHER INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS, AND I THINK IT RIGHT TO SAY TO THE HOUSE THAT IF THIS CONCERN HAD NOT BEEN EXPRESSED AS STRONGLY AS IT HAS BEEN, IT IS VERY DOUBTFUL WHETHER THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN SUFFICIENT CONFIDENCE LAST WEEKEND TO HAVE AVERTED WHAT MIGHT HAVE BECOME A GENERAL CONFLAGRATION....

''WE SHALL DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO SECURE THE EFFECTIVE PRESENCE OF AN APPROPRIATE UNITED NATIONS AGENCY OR AGENCIES TO HELP MAINTAIN THE PEACE IN THE AREA. AS WE ALL RECOGNISE AND HAVE SAID, THEY DID SO SUCCESSFULLY IN THE PAST. IT WOULD BE WRONG AT THIS STAGE TO SPECULATE ABOUT THE PRECISE DUTIES WHICH WILL BE ASSIGNED TO SUCH A UNITED NATIONS PRESENCE, BUT CERTAINLY, AS HAS AGAIN BEEN SAID BY HON. MEMBERS ON BOTH SIDES, WE ARE RIGHT TO PRESS THAT ISRAEL AS WELL AS THE ARAB COUNTRIES MUST ACCEPT A UNITED NATIONS PRESENCE ON THEIR

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''WHEN THE RIGHT HON. GENTLEMAN THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION MADE HIS COMMENTS ON THE PRECIPITATE DECISION TO WITHDRAW UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCE AND, INDEED, WHEN THE RIGHT HON. MEMBER FOR KINROSS AND WEST PERTHSHIRE SAID WHAT HE DID IN PRETTY STRONG TERMS ABOUT THE PRECIPITATE WITHDRAWAL AND THE ACCEPTANCE, WITHOUT CONSULTATION, OF THAT DEMAND, I BELIEVE THAT WHAT THEY SAID WAS ABSOLUTELY RIGHT, AND WE FULLY SUPPORT THEIR ACCOUNT AND THEIR CRITICISM OF THIS DECISION...

''I EMPHASISE AGAIN THAT WE ARE NOT CONCERNED IN THIS DEBATE OR IN THE ACTIONS WHICH FOLLOW - AND I THINK THE HOUSE IS NOT CONCERNED - WITH TAKING SIDES OR APPORTIONING BLAME. HOWEVER VISIONARY THIS MAY SEEM IN SUCH A DANGEROUS SITUATION, WHAT WE MUST SEEK TO DO IS NOT ONLY TO AVOID THE DANGERS OF A TRAGIC WAR, WHICH WOULD BE TRAGIC ENOUGH IN ALL CONSCIENCE EVEN IF CONFINED TO THOSE WHO NOW ONLY GLOWER AT ONE ANOTHER ACROSS MIDDLE EASTERN FRONTIERS....

''ONE CONDITION OF A LASTING PEACE MUST BE THE RECOGNITION THAT ISRAEL HAS THE RIGHT TO LIVE. AS MY HON. FRIEND REMINDED US, IT HAS BEEN FOR NEARLY TWENTY YEARS A MEMBER COUNTRY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, ENTITLED TO THE RESPECT AND PROTECTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS. WHATEVER THE BITTERNESS THAT RULES TODAY, THERE ARE WISE MEN IN ISRAEL AND THERE ARE WISE MEN IN ARAB COUNTRIES, HOWEVER DIFFICULT IT MAY BE FOR THEM TO BECOME ARTICULATE, WHO RECOGNISE NOT ONLY THE NEED FOR CO-EXISTENCE BUT ALSO THE IMMENSE OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEACEFUL CO-OPERATION WHICH EXIST ONCE MAN-MADE BARRIERS, BASED ON PRIMEVAL HOSTILITY, CAN BE BROKEN DOWN....

''I FEEL THAT IT IS RIGHT TO INTERPRET THIS DEBATE AS A MANDATE TO HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT BY EVERY MEANS IN OUR POWER TO CONTINUE WITH ALL WHO ARE WORKING WITH US IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE, AS WE ARE WORKING WITH THEM, BUT IN A WIDER SENSE, TO USE THIS OPPORTUNITY TODAY, IF OPPORTUNITY BE GIVEN, HAVING PEERED INTO THE ABYSS AS WE HAVE, TO TURN THE THREAT OF MILITARY WAR INTO THE REALITY OF TOTAL WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST AGAINST MAN'S MOST ANCIENT ENEMIES OF POVERTY, HUNGER AND DISEASE.''

END VERBATIM SERVICE TWOTWOEIGHT/SIXSEVEN. L P S.

PRODROME RABAT

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PRIORITY KHARTOUM TO FOREIGN OFFICE 47 SAVING TO Rabat 1076

Tel.No. 193 1 June 1967.

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Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 193 of 1 June. Repeated for information to MOD as signal FCK 42 (Priority) Cairo, Tel Aviv, Amman, Damascus, Jedda, Addis Ababa, U.K.Mission New York and Washington (Routine). And Saving to Rabat, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Baghdad and Aden.

Middle East Situation.

The Sudan's position is that the new Prime Minister has expressed his Government's solidarity with the U.A.R. and said that in the event of war with Israel units of the Sudan armed forces will fight with the Arabs. He has declared a state of readiness. A delegation of three Ministers has been to Cairo and Damascus to discuss the Sudan's role, the Army Commander has also been to Cairo. The Opposition Leader, Sadiq El Mahdi, has declared his support in reasoned terms.

2. Actual military operations, however, have been restricted to the formation on paper of an ad hoc battalion consisting of companies from different parts of the country, these have so far remained at their locations and are continuing normal training. In addition pro-Egyptian groups have called for volunteers to train for action with the U.A.R. forces.

3. The indications are that, short of an all-out Arab Israel war, the Sudan is not anxious to get involved in the dispute apart from ritual declarations of support, telegrams, delegations etc. The Government and Press have been giving almost more attention to the situation on the Sudan/Ethiopian (see my immediately following telegram not to all), one influential daily has taken the line that it is the Sudan's primary duty to protect her Eastern frontier as a rearguard of the Arab armies against "an Ethiopian conspiracy with Zionism and American imperialism". In other words the Sudan Government may try to use the Sudan/Ethiopian situation as an excuse, however far fetched, for not giving direct military support to the U.A.R. The Egyptian influence in the new Council of Ministers is now strong, however, and there is growing pressure in the three towns in support of the Arab cause. The Prime Minister may therefore be forced to find ways of giving more positive support.

Foreign Office please pass to MOD as signal FCK 42 (Priority) and unnumbered to Cairo, Tel Aviv, Amman, Damascus, Jedda, Addis Ababa, U.K.Mission New York and Washington Routine and Saving to Rabat, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Baghdad and Aden.

Sir.R. Fowler

Sent 1530Z/1 June
Recd 2215Z/1 June

[Repetition to Amman, Cairo, Damascus and Tel Aviv, referred for departmental decision, repeated as requested to other posts.]

[Copies sent to M.O.D.]
[Sent to D.C.C.]

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BRITISH CONSULATE GENERAL
CASABLANCA
MOROCCO

50/0/67

1 June 1967

See minutes Telly 2/6

Dear John,

We are keeping in close touch with our American colleagues about any trouble which might develop in connexion with the Middle East crisis, especially anything touched off by the UMT.

2. The UMT are having troubles of their own and will probably take advantage of the crisis to embarass the government if they can or dare. I learn from Jim Mattson that there was serious trouble last week at a lead mine in Aouli, near Mibladen, Province of Beni Mellal, as a result of which many miners were arrested and one was killed. It was as a result of an article on this subject that last week's Avant Garde was seized. It was not mentioned in any other paper. There are also rumours of arrests in Casablanca. There is, however, a reference in a small paragraph under the heading "Sachez Que" in Maghrab Informations of 31 May. This reports on the extraordinary national council of the UMT held on 30 May which approved the resolutions of the Centre Committee with regard to a boycott (it is understood of ships of countries supporting Israel).

3. Our feeling and that of our American colleagues is that the authorities are unlikely to allow a demonstration by the UMT, still less a demonstration against our respective Consulates General. Armed mokhaznis are still in evidence. Clearly, however, much depends on how the situation develops in the Middle East itself. Trouble in the port, however, can not be ruled out, especially as the UGTM and UMT will probably try to steel each others' thunder. I am writing separately about recent developments in the rivalry between the two organisations.

4. The Jewish community here is becoming increasingly nervous, not to mention panicky. Relations in France and elsewhere (but not of course in Israel) are urging them to get out and join them, while our American colleagues confirm that they have had a lot of visa applications from those who have families in the U.S. or who are already established there but have come back on a visit. One immediate result, I hear, is that the black market premium for French francs has risen from about 12% to over 20%.

J. Lewen, Esq.,
British Embassy,
RABAT.

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- 2 JUN 1967

/5. My

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5. My own feeling is that from the local point of view the King's decision to send troops to Egypt has eased the tension as it has taken some of the wind out of the opposition's sails, and removed the danger that action against local Jews, or against the British and Americans would prove an inexpensive way of demonstrating solidarity with Nassar.

Yours ever

Peter

(Patrick Johnston)

DECLARATION DE L'UNION MAROCAINE DU TRAVAIL

Les graves événements dont la patrie arabe est actuellement le théâtre, ne sauraient laisser indifférente la classe ouvrière marocaine. Les travailleurs marocains, qui sont directement concernés, considèrent ces événements comme la conséquence de la politique agressive pratiquée par le pseudo Etat d'Israël qui ne constitue, ni plus, ni moins, qu'une base d'agression créée par les impérialistes au cœur du Moyen Orient, dans le but de perpétuer leur exploitation, et pour entraver tout effort sérieux du peuple arabe, en vue de se libérer de la dépendance et du sous développement.

Les pays arabes qui font face aujourd'hui au défi des colonialistes sionistes, mènent une bataille qui est précisément la nôtre, celle des masses populaires marocaines, car, toute agression contre les pays arabes, perpétrée par Israël ou par les Etats colonialistes qui le protègent, n'est, en fait, qu'une agression contre nous.

Sûre d'interpréter le sentiment le plus profond des masses populaires marocaines, l'U.M.T. exprime solennellement sa totale solidarité avec les masses arabes dans le combat pour le destin commun. Elle appuie résolument l'attitude arabe dans le golfe d'Akaba et considère les mesures prises comme parfaitement légitimes.

La classe ouvrière marocaine condamne avec force le soutien partial qu'apporte les USA à Israël et dénonce énergiquement leur attitude agressive envers la juste cause arabe.

Le bureau national de l'Union Marocaine du Travail, en ces circonstances, cruciales, appelle la classe ouvrière à renforcer sa vigilance et à se tenir prête à riposter par des actions adéquates qui comporteraient notamment le boycott des Etats colonialistes qui soutiennent Israël, et le refus de servir leurs navires dans nos ports, pour manifester ainsi notre soutien agissant à la cause du peuple palestinien et donner un contenu concrêt au principe de la solidarité arabe.

L'Union Marocaine du Travail adresse un salut fraternel à l'ensemble des travailleurs arabes et réaffirme que les sentiments arabes de l'Atlantique au golfe arabique sont identiques et que la classe ouvrière marocaine fait partie intégrante de la classe ouvrière arabe dans sa lutte pour l'avenir commun.

CASABLANCA, le 25 Mai 1967
Le Bureau National de l'U.M.T.

بيـــان مـــن الاتحـــاد المغـــربى للشغـــل

يلفت المكتب الوطنى للاتحاد المغربى للشغل انظار الطبقة العاملة ، الى ان اثنا خطيرة تدور حاليا فى الوطن العربى ، نتيجـة للسيـاسة العدوانية لاسرائيل ، التى خلقها الاستعمار قـاعدة عدوانيـة فى قلب العروبة ، ليحمى بها مصالحه ، ويعرقل بها كل مجهود جدى للقضاء على التخلف من طرف الشعوب العربية .

فالبلاد العربية التى تواجه اليوم التحدى الاستعمارى الصهيونى ، تخوض معركة هى فى الوقت ذاته معركتنا ، معركة الجماهير الشعبية المغربية ، اذ ان كل عدوان يوجه ضد البلاد العربية من اسرائيل او من الدول الاستعمارية التى تحميها ، انما هو عدوان موجه ضدنا .

والطبقة العاملة المغربية ، وهى تعبر فى هذا عن أعمق شعـــور الجماهير المغربية ، تعلن رسميا تضامنها التام مع الجماهير العربيـــة الشقيقة فى معركة المصير المشترك ، وتعرب عن تاييدها للموقف العربى فى خليج العقبة ، وعن مشروعية التدابير المتخذة .

والطبقة العاملة المغربية تشجب بشدة ، الموقف العدائى للولايـات المتحدة الامريكية ازاء القضية العربية العادلة ، وتحيزها السافر لدويلة اسرائيـــل .

والمكتب الوطنى للاتحاد المغربى للشغل ، يوجه فى هذه الظروف المتازمة ، نداء الى الطبقة العاملة ، لتكون على يقظة وحذر فى هذه الازمة الخطيرة ، والاستعداد لردود الفعل المناسبة ، التى ستقتضى منا عـلى الخصوص ، مقاطعة الدول الاستعمارية المؤيدة لاسرائيل ، ورفض خدمة بواخرها فى موانئنا ، مؤازرة منا لقضية الشعب الفلسطينى ، ولاعطاء محتوى ناجع لمبدا التضامن العربى فى معركة المصير .

كما يوجه الاتحاد المغربى للشغل تحية اخوية صـادقة الى جماهيـر العمال العرب ، مؤكدا وحدة الشعور العربى من الخليج الى المحيط ، وان الطبقة العاملة المغربية جزء لايتجزا من الطبقـة العاملـة العربيـة فى كفاحها المصيـرى المشتـرك .

الدار البيضاء فى 25 مايو 1967

RESTRICTED

Minutes

Moroccan trade unions and the UAR/ISRAELI crisis

The position of the trade union organisations in Morocco regarding the Egyptian/Israeli conflict, has been revealed by statements in the press and from other sources. Both the Union Marocaine des Travailleurs (UMT) and the Union Générale des Travailleurs Marocains (UGTM), have declared themselves solidly in support of the Arab position.

2. The UGTM, at a meeting held on Friday 26 May, and as reported in the Istiqlal paper "Al Alam", urged decisive action to destroy Israel and expressed the workers' readiness to stand by the anti-Israel states. They stressed that Morocco should actively help with men and material. It was also said that dockers were prepared to boycott the ships of states which helped Israel.

3. The UMT, whose weekly newspaper L'Avant Garde was suppressed by the Government last week-end, has circulated a pamphlet in which they claim that Moroccan workers are directly concerned with the consequences of the aggressive policy practised by "le pseudo Etat d'Israel", which is no more nor less a base for aggression created by the imperialists in the heart of the Middle East, with the object of perpetuating the exploitation and obstructing the development of the Arab people. The UMT, in its pamphlet, expresses its solidarity with all Arabs and considers that the measures taken in the Gulf of Akaba are legitimate. An appeal is made to workers to boycott all "colonial" States which support Israel and to refuse to service their ships in Moroccan ports.

4. Hachemi Bennani, the regional representative of the UMT in Rabat, whom I saw yesterday, was quite vehement in his condemnation of American, British and Canadian "support" for Israel, in particular stating that Britain was no friend of the Arabs. He said that Moroccans would fight for the Arab cause in this instance, and said that it would be to their advantage, as an involvement in a war would help to overcome the serious menace of unemployment in the country. When I challenged him on this statement as not being really serious, he repeated it with, I believe, some grain of conviction. The UMT has been in conflict with the authorities recently in Casablanca port, this time they do not hold the UGTM responsible, saying that they were the victims of police provocation, the police supporting "the other side". One may assume "the other side" to be the

/..Government

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

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Minutes

Government. While the situation in Casablanca port has now become normal, Bennani told me that over 200 strikers at the Aouli mine had been arrested. A reason for the suppression of last week's "Avant Garde" could have been that it contained statements regarding the Egyptian/Israeli affair which went beyond what the Government was prepared to countenance. I suspect that the UMT, more than the UGTM or the Istiqlal, is trying to make some capital out of this situation. There is also a danger that through its association with the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU), it may be used as an instrument to further UAR policies. I learn, for example, that Fechtali, a senior member of the UMT Executive, is at present in Cairo.

(A.C. Wells)
1.6.1967.

Dist. AUS 1.VI
H. of C.
H.E.

See also letter from R Johnston below.

HofC again.

2/6

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

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1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En C
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher/OTA

[Distribution Heading]

FROM Jo TO Rabat

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 213 D M

[Date] 2 June R M

HE has seen 5/6/67

~~Hope~~ ~~P.S/E~~

PS/PUS 6.VI

Mr. Ward Adv. 6/6.

IO has seen

Repeated to

[Priority]

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDRESSED TO AMMAN TELEGRAM NO 900 OF 2 JUNE.

REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, TEL AVIV, DAMASCUS, CAIRO, BAGHDAD, BEIRUT, RABAT, ALGIERS, ADDIS ABABA, TUNIS, KUWAIT, BAHRAIN, TRIPOLI, BENGHAZI, KHARTOUM, AND SAVING TO TEHRAN, ANKARA, JERUSALEM.

DISTRIBUTION

YOUR TELEGRAMS NOS 509 AND 510: GULF OF AQABA.

I CAN WELL UNDERSTAND THE DIFFICULTY OF EXPLAINING H.M.G.'S POINT OF VIEW IN THE PRESENT STATE OF ARAB FEELING, BUT I HOPE THAT MY CAREFULLY WORDED STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT WILL HELP YOU TO COUNTER THE BELIEF THAT H.M.G.'S STAND IS ONE OF SUPPORTING ISRAEL.

2. As regards

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

2. AS REGARDS THE POINTS IN YOUR PARAGRAPH 2:-

(I) THE ARAB ARGUMENT THAT ELATH WAS OCCUPIED BY THE ISRAELIS AFTER THE SIGNATURE OF THE EGYPTIAN / ISRAEL ARMISTICE AGREEMENT IS IRRELAVANT SINCE IT WAS NEVER PART OF EGYPT OR IN THE POSSESSION OF EGYPTIAN FORCES. THE ARABS HAVE A POINT IN THAT THE ISRAELIS EXPELLED TRANSJORDANIAN FORCES AND OCCUPIED ELATH IN BREACH OF THE TRUCE THEN EXISTING BETWEEN ISRAEL AND TRANSJORDAN IN MARCH 1949. BUT UNDER THE 1947 UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY PARTITION PROPOSAL ELATH AND THE NEGEV WENT TO THE JEWISH STATE. AND THE ISRAEL/JORDAN ARMISTICE AGREEMENT OF APRIL 1949 CONFIRMED ISRAEL IN POSSESSION OF IT. THE AGREEMENT IS CLEAR THAT THE ARMISTICE LINES SHALL NOT PREJUDICE A FINAL SETTLEMENT: PENDING A FINAL SETTLEMENT. HOWEVER, THE AGREEMENT AND THE MAPS ANNEXED TO IT GIVE ISRAEL A SOUND LEGAL BASIS FOR POSSESSION OF THE PORT. UNLIKE E.G. JERUSALEM, ISRAEL~S CLAIM TO POSSESSION OF ELATH HAS NOT BEEN DISPUTED BY anyone

ANYONE BUT THE ARAB STATES SINCE THEN.

(II) AS YOU WILL HAVE SEEN FROM OUR GUIDANCE TELEGRAM NO. 115, THERE IS AN IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AT STAKE IN THE QUESTION OF THE FREEDOM OF PASSAGE THROUGH THE STRAITS OF TIRAN. MOREOVER, WHATEVER THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF ~~SUCH~~ "THE SUEZ AGGRESSION" ~~UNSUCTE~~. IT WAS PART OF THE ARRANGEMENTS MADE UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAEL FORCES FROM SINAI THAT ISRAEL SHOULD ENJOY FREEDOM OF PASSAGE THROUGH THE STRAITS. AND MANY GOVERNMENTS. INCLUDING OUR OWN. CONTRIBUTED TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT BY AFFIRMING THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE RIGHT OF PASSAGE. THE PRESENT CRITICAL SITUATION RESULTS FROM THE UNILATERAL ACTION OF THE UAR GOVERNMENT IN UPSETTING ARRANGEMENTS WHICH HAVE STOOD FOR 10 YEARS AND ASSURED PEACE IN THE GULF AREA.

(III) I WAS CAREFUL TO SAY IN MY STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT THAT H.M.G. CONDEMN ATTACKS ACROSS THE FRONTIER IN BOTH DIRECTIONS. AND SPECIFIC- ALLY MENTIONED THE ATTACK ON SAMMU.

3. OVER AND ABOVE ALL THIS. HOWEVER. THE ACTIONS OF THE U.A.R. GOVERNMENT. WHATEVER THEIR

1076

motivation /

MOTIVATION (SEE GUIDANCE TELEGRAM NO.116) HAVE
BROUGHT THE MIDDLE EAST TO THE BRINK OF A WAR
WHICH WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE TERRIBLE
CONSEQUENCES FOR JORDAN AND THE LIMITS OF
WHICH COULD NOT BE FORESEEN. IN SUCH A SITUATION
IT IS THE DUTY OF ALL GOVERNMENTS TO SEEK
MEANS OF PREVENTING A CATASTROPHE. WE ARE
WELL AWARE THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE PURSUING
A CYNICAL POLICY IN EXPLOITING THE SITUATION TO
WIN ARAB SUPPORT FOR THEMSELVES AND THAT
THEY ARE HAVING CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS IN
IDENTIFYING WESTERN EFFORTS TO PRESERVE THE
PEACE WITH SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL. WITH THE THREAT OF
WAR THAT EXISTS WE CANNOT BE SIMILARLY
IRRESPONSIBLE. THE U/S. GOVERNMENT OURSELVES
AND OTHERS ARE USING OUR INFLUENCE TO RESTRAIN THE
ISRAELIS BUT THE DANGER IS VERY SERIOUS AND THE
MEASURES WE ARE TAKING IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND
IN CONSULTATION WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO FIND
SOME WAY OF AVERTING A CATASTROPHE ARE NO MORE
PRO-ISRAEL THAN THEY ARE PRO-ARAB AND
PRO-HUMANITY. OBVIOUSLY IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANYONE
TO SAY WHETHER THE ISRAELIS WILL CONTINUE TO BE
RESTRAINED: BUT THE INFLUENCE OF THOSE WHO ARE
TRYING TO RESTRAIN THEM MUST DEPEND TO
A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT ON THEIR WILLINGNESS TO
WORK FOR AN EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT OF PRESENT
DIFFICULTIES OVER THE GULF OF AQABA. So SFA

Reference.....

Please send copies of full text of Foreign Secretary's speech with my comps to Ambassadors of :-

Portugal	in English
Italy	"
Norway	"
Tunisia	French
India	English
Brazil	"
Austria	"
Iran	French
Belgium	English
Denmark	"
U.S.A	"
Germany	"
Saudi Arabia	"
Senegal	French
Jordan	English
Japan	"
Iraq	"
Turkey	"
Lebanon	French and

and to the Chargé d'Affaires of

Switzerland	English
France	French
Netherlands	English
Greece	"
Sweden	"
Turkey	"

Ltr
2/VI

and with my comps to

M Lauri Bennani	English
M. Mohamed Saadani	"
M. Abdelmajid Benjelloun	"
M. Ahmed Sciacem.	French)

Ltr FA

Done
EA 2/6

le 8 juin 1967

Monsieur le Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat,

J'ai retracé dans ma Note No. 96 du 26 mai à Son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères les grandes lignes de la politique de mon Gouvernement en ce qui concerne la situation qui s'est développée au Moyen Orient. Le Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires Etrangères, M. George Brown, vient de définir cette politique d'une manière plus détaillée. Les déclarations de M. Brown ont été appuyées par la suite par le Premier Ministre lui-même. Puisque les agences de presse n'ont donné du discours de M. Brown que des extraits partiels j'ai l'honneur de transmettre à Votre Excellence une traduction non-officielle du texte complet.

Ce faisant, je me permets d'attirer l'attention de Votre Excellence à certaines observations faites par M. Brown qui ont, je crois, un intérêt spécial pour le Gouvernement du Royaume du Maroc. Vous noterez tout d'abord l'endroit chiffré 1 en marge, où M. Brown dément les accusations de partialité qui ont été dirigées contre nous. Ceci est à lire conjointement avec le passage chiffré 2, où il explique son attitude positive envers le nationalisme arabe et le Président Nasser.

Je vous invite, Monsieur le Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat, à vous pencher également sur les passages chiffrés 3 et 4, où mon Ministre donne, avec une grande netteté, les

/raisons

Son Excellence Monsieur Abdellah Chorfi,
Sous-Secrétaire d'Etatsaux Affaires Etrangères,
Rabat.

raisons pour lesquelles mon Gouvernement insiste sur le droit de libre passage par le détroit de Tiran. Vous noterez que ce ne sont pas les mêmes raisons que celles avancées par le Gouvernement d'Israel. "Freedom of the Seas", le droit de naviguer sans restrictions, a été un principe fondamentalede notre politique depuis l'époque de la première Reine Elizabeth, c'est-àdire depuis plus de trois siècles.

Et finalement je vous prie de noter partout dans ce discours l'importance que donne M. Brown au rôle à jouer par les Nations Unies dans la situation actuelle. J'espère que le Gouvernement marocain étudiera avec sympathie les propositions faites par mon Ministre, à l'endroit chiffré 5, sur la nécessité de rétablir une présence des Nations Unies dans la région en question.

En m'excusant de prendre ainsi votre temps, je vous prie, Monsieur le Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat, de bien vouloir agréer l'expression de ma haute considération.

(L.C. Holliday)

le 2 juin 1967

Monsieur le Ministre,

Tout en remerciant Votre Excellence de m'avoir accordé quelques instants de votre temps hier à la réception tunisienne pour me permettre d'esquisser le point de vue de mon gouvernement en ce qui concerne la situation qui s'est développée au Moyen Orient, je me permets de vous envoyer, Monsieur le Ministre, le texte intégral du discours traitant de ce sujet que vient de prononcer Son Excellence le Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires Etrangères britannique, M. George Brown, discours d'une grande importance et dont les agences de presse n'ont donné que des extraits partiels. J'y ai naturellement déjà attiré l'attention du Ministère des AffairesEtrangères.

Ce faisant, je me permets d'attirer l'attention de Votre Excellence à certaines observations faites par M. Brown qui ont, je crois, un intérêt spécial pour le Gouvernement du Royaume du Maroc. Vous noterez tout d'abord l'endroit chiffré 1 en marge, où M. Brown dément les accusations de partialité qui ont été dirigées contre nous. Ceci est à lire conjointement avec le passage chiffré 2, où il explique son attitude positive envers le nationalisme arabe et le Président Nasser.

Je vous invite, Monsieur le Ministre, à vous pencher également sur les passages chiffrés 3 et 4, où mon Ministre donne, avec une grande netteté, les raisons pour lesquelles mon gouvernement insiste sur le droit de libre passage par le détroit de Tiran.

/Vous

Son Excellence Monsieur Mohamed Cherkaoui,
Ministre de la Défense Nationale,
RABAT.

And to: S.E. M. M'Hamed Zeghari,
Ministre de l'Agriculture et de la Réforme Agraire,
Rabat.

Vous noterez que ce ne sont pas les mêmes raisons que celles avancées par le gouvernement d'Israel. "Freedom of the Seas", le droit de naviguer sans restrictions, a été un principe fondamental de notre politique depuis l'époque de la première Reine Elizabeth, c'est-à-dire depuis plus de trois siècles.

Et finalement, je vous prie de noter partout dans ce discours l'importance que donne M. Brown au rôle à jouer par les Nations Unies dans la situation actuelle. J'espère que le gouvernement marocain étudiera avec sympathie les propositions faites par mon Ministre, à l'endroit chiffré 5, sur la nécessité de rétablir une présence des Nations Unies dans la région en question.

En m'excusant de prendre ainsi votre temps, je vous prie, Monsieur le Ministre, de bien vouloir agréer l'expression de ma haute considération.

(L.G. Holliday)

1076

le 2 juin 1967

Monsieur le Ministre,

Sachant avec quelle bienveillance Votre Excellence étudie la politique étrangère de mon gouvernement, je me permets de vous envoyer, Monsieur le Ministre, le texte intégral du discours traitant de ce sujet que vient de prononcer Son Excellence le Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires Etrangères britannique, M. George Brown, discours d'une grande importance et dont les agences de presse n'ont donné que des extraits partiels. J'y ai naturellement déjà attiré l'attention du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

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Je vous invite, Monsieur le Ministre, à vous pencher également sur les passages chiffrés 3 et 4, où mon Ministre donne, avec une grande netteté, les raisons pour lesquelles mon gouvernement insiste sur le droit de libre passage par le détroit de Tiran. Vous noterez que ce ne sont pas les mêmes raisons que celles avancées par le gouvernement d'Israel. "Freedom of

/the

Son Excellence Monsieur Hadj Ahmed Balafrej,
Ministre, Représentant Personnel de Sa
Majesté le Roi,
RABAT.

And to: S.E. M. Ali Benjelloun,
Ministre de la Justice,
Rabat.

the Seas", le droit de naviguer sans restrictions, a été un principe fondamental de notre politique depuis l'époque de la première Reine Elizabeth, c'est-à-dire depuis plus de trois siècles.

Et finalement je vous prie de noter partout dans ce discours l'importance que donne M. Brown au rôle à jouer par les Nations Unies dans la situation actuelle. J'espère que le gouvernement marocain étudiera avec sympathie les propositions faites par mon Ministre, à l'endroit chiffré 5, sur la nécessité de rétablir une présence des Nations Unies dans la région en question.

En m'excusant de prendre ainsi votre temps, je vous prie, Monsieur le Ministre, de bien vouloir agréer l'expression de ma haute considération.

(L.G. Holliday)

TELEGRAMME ADRESSE LE 2 JUIN 1967

au

Directeur Général du Cabinet Royal

au Ministre de l'Information

et au Ministre de l'Intérieur

Le journal AL KIFAH AL WATANI est retenu depuis vingt-quatre heures par la censure qui refusa l'examen des morasses, exigea des exemplaires définitifs, perturbant ainsi la diffusion du journal.

Nous apprenons que le rétablissement de la censure vise exclusivement la presse progressiste. Nous protestons contre le rétablissement de la censure de la presse et contre son application discriminatoire aux journaux progressistes.

La liberté de la presse, droit imprescriptible du peuple, est particulièrement indispensable pour résister aux graves dangers que court la patrie arabe au Moyen Orient et la patrie marocaine au Sahara occidental.

Nous demandons la levée de la censure et l'arrêt des discriminations injustes.

Salutations respectueuses,

Ali Yata

Casablanca, le 2 juin 1967, II h.

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SAISIE DU N° I20 D'AL KIFAH AL WATANI (2.6.67)

Télégramme adressé à Sa Majesté Hassan II, Roi du Maroc

Sire,

Nous avons l'honneur de vous informer de l'interdiction du numéro I20 du 2 juin I967 du journal AL KIFAH AL WATANI devant paraître ce jour, sans justification ni explication, et de façon illégale, puisque le décret de saisie du Ministre de l'Intérieur prévu par la Loi ne nous a pas été notifié.

Nous considérons que cette mesure est nuisible au prestige du Maroc et fort préjudiciable aux intérêts de la cause de la patrie arabe, le numéro d'Al Kifah Al Watani en question étant essentiellement consacré à la défense de la lutte des pays arabes.

Nous en sommes d'autant plus étonnés qu'Al Kifah Al Watani donne son appui enthousiaste à la décision d'envoyer une unité armée marocaine en République Arabe Unie, approuve la proposition du Sommet Arabe et soumet d'autres suggestions patriotiques réalistes susceptibles d'assurer une réelle contribution du Maroc au triomphe de la cause arabe.

Nous sollicitons votre haute intervention pour la publication et la diffusion du numéro I20 et la levée définitive de la censure.

Hommage respectueux,

Ali Yata.

Casablanca, le 2 juin I967, I3 h.

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AU COEUR DE LA BATAILLE

Les impérialistes anglo-américains méditaient une agression contre la République Arabe Syrienne et la République Arabe Unie pour arrêter le flux révolutionnaire qui entraîne le monde arabe. Leur créature Israël était sur le point de perpétrer cette action criminelle après avoir tâté le terrain et s'être assurée que le moment est propice, encouragée par les divergences qui règnent dans les rangs arabes et par les menées de la réaction arabe.

Mais les calculs des impérialistes étaient faux et les tentatives de leur enfant chéri ne sont venues ni en temps ni en lieu opportuns. Bien au contraire, elles se sont retournées contre eux de la pire manière. Le mérite en revient aux dirigeants arabes progressistes qui ont adopté des positions de fermeté et de courage et qui ont fait preuve d'une habileté que les ennemis n'avaient nullement prévue.

Nous sommes heureux de rendre particulièrement hommage au comportement du Président Gamal Abdel Nasser qui a joué un rôle déterminant dans le déroulement de la situation et qui a agi sur elle par sa sagesse, son courage et son audace. Nous n'exagérons nullement quand nous disons que les décisions qu'il a prises seront écrites en lettres d'or dans l'histoire du combat des peuples arabes. Nous citerons en particulier le retrait des troupes d'urgence de l'ONU du territoire de la République Arabe Unie et le recouvrement de son droit légitime de souveraineté sur le Golfe d'Akaba, ainsi que sa fermeture à la navigation israélienne, en vertu de sa situation dans les eaux territoriales arabes où aucune ingérence d'un Etat étranger n'est permise.

Grâce à cette attitude ferme contre l'impérialisme, les peuples arabes ont commencé à remporter les premiers succès et à créer les conditions du triomphe définitif qu'est la récupération des terres et le recouvrement des droits arabes spoliés.

Oui. Tous les Arabes sont entrés dans le combat et ils ont commencé à l'envisager comme un seul et même combat pour un seul et même but. Ils le mettent au premier rang de leurs préoccupations et lui portent tout leur intérêt; ils commencent aussi à saisir tous les aspects du problème, à voir les moyens susceptibles de faire triompher leur cause, à connaître ceux qui la défendent avec sérieux et conviction dans les milieux arabes, ceux qui la soutiennent dans l'arène internationale, à connaître les ennemis et leurs liaisons organiques et effectives. C'est ainsi que tout le monde a constaté l'amitié de l'Union Soviétique et des pays socialistes qui se tiennent aujourd'hui comme ils l'ont fait hier aux côtés des peuples arabes. De leur côté, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique se sont démasqués totalement en soutenant Israël.

Mais ces premiers succès ne doivent pas nous faire oublier que la bataille n'est qu'à son début, que les événements et les situations évoluent, que les dangers s'accumulent et que les ennemis sont capables de déclencher traîtreusement une agression qui sera peut-être le point de départ d'une confrontation générale dans le monde.

Cela exige un surcroît de préparatifs pour affronter toutes les éventualités.

Nous sommes satisfaits des décisions prises par les frères arabes, comme l'accord de défense commune entre la République Arabe Unie et le Royaume de Jordanie, l'intention de l'Irak de couper le pétrole à tout pays qui aiderait Israël, la volonté de l'Algérie et du Koweit d'envoyer des forces armées au front.

Nous sommes heureux, aussi, de constater le sentiment d'unité arabe que montre notre peuple, sa foi dans la cause palestinienne, sa solidarité avec les frères arabes et sa volonté de participer à la bataille à leurs côtés pour remplir son devoir envers la patrie arabe. Combien nous sommes heureux de l'unanimité nationale qui s'est exprimée dans notre prise de position et dans les communiqués de l'Union Nationale des Forces Populaires, de l'Union Marocaine du Travail et du Parti de l'Istiqlal.

De même, nous ne pouvons enregistrer qu'avec satisfaction les décisions prises par les autorités, telles que l'envoi d'unités de l'armée marocaine en République Arabe Unie pour se joindre aux effectifs de nos frères, contribuer à la défense des terres arabes et aider à repousser toute agression d'Israël ou de ses maîtres colonialistes, ainsi que la proposition d'une réunion immédiate des Chefs d'Etats arabes pour coordonner les actions : c'est là une initiative positive susceptible de déjouer les plans des ennemis.

Mais notre pays ne doit pas s'en tenir là et se contenter de promesses verbales. Il doit aller jusqu'au bout dans l'accomplissement du devoir et dans la défense de l'honneur du Maroc.

Cela exige la mobilisation de tout le potentiel humain et militaire, y compris l'organisation de volontaires, la préparation du boycott des alliés d'Israël en cas d'agression, l'interdiction d'utiliser le territoire marocain comme base de quelqu'action que ce soit contre les Arabes, l'amélioration des relations avec l'Algérie voisine et la reprise des relations avec la République Arabe Syrienne soeur.

En résumé, le Maroc, peuple, organisations et autorités, doit répondre à l'appel au combat, de toute sa force et de toute sa foi, pour mettre fin au cauchemar colonialiste que vivent les Arabes, pour débarasser la Palestine de la pègre sioniste et pour aller de l'avant dans la voie de la liberté et de la dignité.

Ali Yata.

Casablanca, le 3 juin 1967

الاتحاد العام لطلبة فلسطين

فـــرع الربـاط

—

أيهـا الأخوة الاحرار .. يا ابناء المغرب العربي الأبطال ، لقد بدأت معركتنـا مع الصهيونية والامبريالية صباح اليوم .. المعركة التي طالما انتظرتها الجماهير العربية معركة الشرف والكرامة ..

أيها الأخوة الثـوار :

ان الجيوش العربية في الشرق العربي والتي آلت على نفسها أن لا تشرق شمـــس الحرية والا راية العروبة خفاقة على ربى فلسطين مخلصة اياها من براثن الصهيونيـــة الآثمة والامبريالية الانجلو ـ امريكي .. بدأ الزحف المقدس صباح اليوم ليلقن الأعداء درسا لم يشهد التاريخ مثيله ، تدك حصونه ، وترسم على ربى فردوسنا أعلام الأمـــة المنتصرة يدعمها في ذلك ارادة الشعوب العربية الثائرة من المحيط الى الخليج والدول الثورية المتحررة والتائقة الى الحرية .

فهبوا أيها الأخوة الأبطال لنصرة اخوانكم واحتلوا مكانكم في صفوف المعركة معركـــة الأمة العربية ، معركة الشرف والكرامة .

والله أكـبر والنصـر لجيوشـنا الظافـرة
والله أكـبر والنصـر لفلسـطين
واننـا لسائـدون

الهيئـة الاداريـة

pmp 1076

The General Union of Moroccan Students,

Libet Branch.

Oh liberal brethren... our heroic sons of

Arab Maghreb. Our battle against Zionism and imperialism

started this morning .... a battle for which the Arab masses

have long been waiting - that of honour and integrity.

Oh ye revolutionary brethren:

We armies in the Arab East have taken it upon

themselves that the sun of liberty will not rise until

the banner of Arabism will be fluttering on Palestine's

hills and until Palestine will have been rescued from

the claws of wicked Zionism and Anglo-American imperialism.

The holy march started this morning to teach the enemy a

lesson the like of which history has not yet witnessed.

His fortresses will be undermined and on our paradise's

hills the banners of a victorious nation will be posted

and upheld by the will of the rising Arab peoples' from the

ocean to the Gulf, and the will of liberal revolutionary

armies which aspire to liberty.

Rise, ye heroic brethren to help your brothers

and take your position among other ranks in the Arab

nation's battle - the battle of honour and integrity.

Allah is great, and victory will be the lot of our

triumphant armies.

Allah is great, and victory for Palestine.

We are returning home.

The Administrative Committee.

H.E.

1076

AJ Amco (semi-official) no. 1062 of 4.4.5/5/1967.

A short interview with the Saudi Ambassador on the subject of the Middle East Crisis.

The retiring Ambassador was under the impression after the strong evidence of Arab solidarity the Ambassador said that he never doubted the participation of any Arab in this battle of destiny. Past experience has proved that whenever an Arab country was exposed to a foreign colonial or Zionist danger, Arabs forgot all their quarrels, thus giving evidence of the strength of Arab unity. The present storm will serve as a test for Arabs, and only the trees which have firm and strong roots will resist. The Ambassador said on the day that since the outbreak of the crisis His Majesty King Faisal received Saudi Arabia's solidarity with Arabs. On the British Television he said that of the significant evidence of an Israeli assault on any Arab state, Saudi Arabia will be prepared to stand against Israel with Arabs. If the Palestinian question will be held above all else controversies we will emerge victorious and take a first step towards Arab unity, he said.

About the views of King Hassan's proposal of a Summit meeting, he said that he had always admired the King's attitude towards Arab and Islamic questions in general. This is not the first time that he attempts to group Arabs together and unify their views. On various previous occasions he had tried to bring about a rapprochement among Arabs and Moslems, and it is certain that Arab Governments, people and heads of State are grateful to him for this. The Ambassador wished the King success in his present endeavour.

On the subject of Iraq's proposal of a conference of Arab petrol producing states in a Ministerial level for taking a common attitude towards any country which will support Israel in case of an aggression on any Arab State, the Ambassador said that the suggestion was plausible and could provide an opportunity for consultation for the adoption of a unified attitude. He added that Saudi Arabia had always stood by fellow Arabs in all that might affect their destiny or future. He brought to mind his country's attitude during the Suez crisis when she placed all her resources for the service of the cause of Arabism and of Palestine in particular.

Finally the Ambassador hoped that Arabs would emerge victorious from the crisis and henceforth devote all efforts to fruitful collaboration and to the consolidation of Arab fraternity and unity. When this would come to pass, enemies would think twice before venturing an assault.

H.C

mpp 1076

Al Ittihad (Independent) No. 286 of June 2, 1967.

Item C. 2.

In case of an outbreak of war in the Middle East, would Western States, or some of them, intervene to protect Israel? Such intervention, however, would mean a declaration of war on Arabs by the West.. But, for various considerations and reasons, it will be difficult for Western States to intervene directly against Arabs and to protect Israel. Although American is interested in the continued presence of the Zionist State in Palestine and has interest in directing political and military blows to Arabs, yet the White House's policy has been opposed in a manner which will be harmful to Americans, and this made liberals in America advise the country's leaders not to intervene in Middle East Affairs, especially at the present moment. Apparently American liberals, like others, now realise that White House policy has created problems for America in every continent and country. We feel no need to bring to mind American interference in Vietnam's affairs and her attempts to spy on some African States by means of Peace Corps, to say nothing of other problems American policy has created for America in Cuba, Korea and other places.

As for Britain, she is unable even to solve her internal problems. The British Government has been unable even to confront the opposition in Parliament, to solve economic and social difficulties or to protect the British people from the dangers of hunger and deprivation. Moreover, has it succeeded in treating her relations with Spain to be expected to deal with the Middle East crisis..?

Yet Britain then prove her valour and intervene for the protection of Israel, the colonial protégé. No doubt her hand will be strengthened by some little troops, such as Canada and others.

At any rate, we can confirm that the French attitude towards the Middle East crisis has enhanced the prestige of France and the French people and of the French Government's policy.

H.E

Mpp. 1076

Al Anbaa (Semi-official) No. 1068 of June 5, 1967.

In an interview with the U.A.R. Ambassador on the present crisis he said that Jamal Abdul Nasser's successful revolutionary step was the first positive action to be taken since the tragedy of 1948 and the first direct step towards Palestine's liberation. Israel will now realise that she had been building castles in the air, and that these castles are now to be dissipated. For the first time she is on the defensive after having been pampered for so long and after having been used to smiting Arabs without being reprimanded because of the support she was having from big colonial states.

The step has helped crystallise Arab nationalism and solidarity, as all have united and taken a stand against the outside intruder, thus disillusioning those who had doubted in nationalism and who had tried to give it a wrong interpretation, out of malevolence or underestimation.

The firm Arab stand has made non-Arab states in the region hasten to support the Arab attitude for the preservation of good relations and to protect their interests. For example Cyprus announced that she will not allow the use of foreign bases in her territory for aggression on Arabs, and Malta has done the same. Spain supported Palestine Arab rights and confirmed her non-recognition of Israel. African countries are also siding with Arabs.

In the world level the Arab blow was staggering; and big colonial States' first spontaneous reaction was to issue threats, revealing a mentality which had concealed itself since 1956 but has come out now to the open. Colonial leaders are trying to set themselves up as protectors of justice and peace when justice is foreign to them and when they have always been harbingers of war. When colonialists collected their wits after the blow, they realised that the era of threats is now over and that smaller States can menace their interests. I am now certain, the Ambassador said, that bigger States will re-assess the situation on realising that they can no longer impose Western colonial policy on the Arab nation which has risen as a united power to be reckoned with.

For the first time the Palestinian question is being properly presented to world public opinion. The assault on the Arab nation in 1948 is taken as the basis of the problem from which others have sprung. And now Arab States have come to know who are their enemies and who are their friends. Western colonial States which had dealt Arab countries a treacherous blow in setting up Israel ought to have made amends for their sins and crime by changing their attitude and supporting Arabs, or at least by observing neutrality. However, they have adopted a contrary attitude, but Arab States now know who their enemies are and can impose their respect on those who are determined to look upon them with disdain and to persist in their crime.

The attitude adopted by His Majesty the King towards acts of aggression and colonial and Zionist threats will be appreciated by every Arab who ~~will~~ admires the King's valour and Arab zeal.

No names named.

L

H.E.

pmm 1076.

Al Anba (Semi-official) No. 1068 of 3/6/1967.

An interview with the Jordanian Ambassador on the Middle East crisis.

Asked about his impressions of King Hussein's gesture in signing an agreement with Jamal Abdul Nasser for Common Defence, the Ambassador said that Palestine's problem has always been a close concern of Jordan which has the longest front with Israel. Now that the moment has come for serious general action, it was not surprising of King Hussein to dash forward for the liberation of Palestine and the recovery of usurped rights, forgetting minor disagreements and taking the initiative of going to meet President Abdul Nasser to sign with him a Common Defence Agreement. It was not surprising of him to collaborate with every sincere Arab for the common cause. There is no doubt that Arab reaction to the Zionist and colonial challenge was collective and spontaneous from the ocean to the Gulf. All Arabs showed readiness to collaborate upon Nasser's proclamation of the Arab nature of the Aqaba Gulf and the Tiran Strait, and from he sent international forces out of the way of Arabs who were itching to repress any act of aggression. Such evidence of general Arab solidarity was exhilarating, and so was the support of friendly and peace loving states, which merits praise and appreciation.

When asked for his impressions of the steps taken by King Hassan since the outbreak of the crisis and his appeal for a Summit or an Arab Premiers meeting, the Ambassador said that this was typical of the King who is always foremost to defend Arab rights and to go through any sacrifice for their recovery. It was not surprising that he should appeal for an urgent meeting for the coordination and unification of Arab efforts..

When asked for his views of this strong evidence of Arab solidarity and his country's attitude towards supporters of Israel, he said that the spontaneity of Arab solidarity astounded the world and proved that Palestine Arab rights will not be allowed to be usurped notwithstanding the collaboration of powers of **evil** and of aggression. When, reverting to Egypt's and Jordan's Common Defence Agreement, he said that it was a new victory for Arabs and will tighten the blockade on Israel from all directions, taking into account Jordan's proximity to the enemy.

About enemies and friends of the Arab nation in this time of adversity, he said that Arabs should make their case known to their friends and should do their best to put an end to some states' bias against them. There should be a perfect unity during the conference of petrol producing states so that this might be used as a weapon in support of the Palestine cause. Arab petrol supplies should be cut off from any state which will support the assailants, regardless of this state's wealth or power. Decisive measures should be used to prove Arabs' vigilance in their treatment of enemies and friends.

Finally the Ambassador said that every body is aspiring to the day of victory when Palestinians will return to their country to recover their lost paradise.

Rabat 1076

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IMMEDIATE U.K. MISSION NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE
TELEGRAM NO. 1203 3 JUNE 1967
UNCLASSIFIED
ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN OFFICE TELEGRAM NO. 1203 OF 3 JUNE REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO WASHINGTON MOSCOW PARIS TEL AVIV AND SAVING TO AMMAN BAGHDAD BEIRUT ADDIS ABABA NEW DELHI OTTAWA LAGOS COPENHAGEN RABAT AND JEDDA.

MY TELEGRAM NO. 1164: MIDDLE EAST SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING.

THE COUNCIL CONTINUED ITS DEBATE THIS MORNING. ISRAEL, U.A.R., SYRIA, JORDAN, LEBANON, IRAQ, MOROCCO, SAUDI ARABIA AND KUWAIT PARTICIPATED AT THEIR REQUEST.

2. RAFAEL (ISRAEL) SPOKE FIRST. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE COUNCIL HAD NOW DEBATED FOR TWELVE DAYS DURING WHICH ARAB SPOKESMEN HAD FANNED THE FLAMES OF VIOLENCE AND HATRED. THE ARABS HAD THREE OBJECTIVES: TO HIDE THEIR OWN AGGRESSIVE ACTIVITIES: TO PORTRAY ISRAEL, THE VICTIM OF AGGRESSION, AS THE AGGRESSOR: AND TO PARALYSE AND INTIMIDATE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SO NO ONE WOULD INTERFERE. THIS WAS A SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO THE UNITED NATIONS. IT HAD BEEN SAID THAT ISRAEL WAS BORN OF AGGRESSION, BUT THAT AGGRESSION HAD BEEN ARAB AGGRESSION. RAFAEL THEN WENT ON TO RECOUNT AT LENGTH THE HISTORY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAEL. HE CONCLUDED THAT THE U.A.R OBJECT WAS NOT TO GO BACK TO 1956 BUT TO 1948, I.E. TO ABOLISH ISRAEL. IN A LONG PASSAGE ON FREEDOM OF ACCESS TO AQABA, RAFAEL REJECTED THE ARAB ARGUMENTS IN DETAIL. HE DESCRIBED ANY ATTEMPT TO CLOSE THE STRAIT OF TIRAN AS THE SEVERING OF AN ARTERY AND AN ACT AS GRAVE FOR ISRAEL AS AN ATTEMPT TO TRUNCATE PART OF THEIR TERRITORY.

3. TARABANOV (BULGARIA) THEN MADE A STATEMENT ON ESTABLISHED COMMUNIST LINES SUPPORTING THE ARABS. HE THOUGHT THAT THE RESTRAINT SHOWN BY THE COUNCIL, DESPITE THE ATTEMPTS BY SOME MEMBERS TO RAISE THE TEMPERATURE ARTIFICIALLY, HAD BEEN BENEFICIAL. MODERATION WAS

/HOWEVER

HOWEVER NEEDED FROM THE PARTIES AND ALL STATES CONCERNED. THE IMPERIALISTS WERE ENCOURAGING ISRAEL. IT WAS THE DUTY OF THE COUNCIL TO CALL FOR RESTRAINT AND TO URGE ISRAEL TO OBSERVE THE GENERAL ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS AND TO COOPERATE WITH UNTSO.

4. DAUDEH (SYRIA) REBUTTED CLAIMS IN THE U.S. DELEGATE'S SPEECH ON 30 MAY ABOUT THE IMPARTIAL ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES DURING THE SUEZ CRISIS AND THE SAMU AGGRESSION OF 1966. IN THE LATTER CASE, EVEN THE AMERICANS HAD TO CONDEMN THIS ACT OF MASS EXTERMINATION WHEN IT CAME TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. IN THE PRESENT CRISIS, THE SIXTH FLEET HAD BEEN VIRTUALLY PUT AT ISRAEL'S DISPOSITION. A MEETING OF SYRIAN AND OTHER ARAB TRADES UNION LEADERS HAD PASSED RESOLUTIONS IN DAMASCUS A WEEK AGO WHICH SHOWED THE LENGTHS TO WHICH THE ORGANISED ARAB MASSES WOULD GO TO RESIST AGGRESSION. THESE INCLUDED A SCORCHED EARTH POLICY ON SOURCES OF ARAB OIL, IF NECESSARY.

5. COMMENTING ON A CLAIM IN THE ISRAEL DELEGATE'S SPEECH THAT THE CLASH ON SYRIA'S BORDER WITH ISRAEL ON 2 JUNE WAS THE RESULT OF SYRIAN AGGRESSIVE ACTION, DAUDEH DENIED THIS ABSOLUTELY AND RESERVED HIS RIGHT TO ANSWER FULLY LATER.

6. BEN HIMA (MOROCCO) THANKED THE SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR SCRUPULOUSLY ADHERING TO THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN HIS PREDECESSOR AND THE U.A.R. GOVERNMENT TO ESTABLISH UNEF. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S TOUR TO THE CRISIS AREA HAD ALSO BEEN VALUABLE. IN HIS REPORT S/7906 THERE WAS THE U.A.R. ASSURANCE THAT THEY WOULD NOT INITIATE AGGRESSION. THE EGYPTIAN LEGAL CASE FOR ARAB SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE GULF OF AQABA, AS PUT BY EL KONY AND OTHERS, WAS UNRESERVEDLY SUPPORTED BY MOROCCO. SOME GREAT POWERS WERE NOW TRYING TO RIG UP A MARITIME CONFERENCE OF THOSE WHO USED THE GULF, WITH THE PURPOSE OF UNDERMINING ARAB SOVEREIGNTY. THIS WAS UNACCEPTABLE. THE LONDON CONFERENCE OF 1956 AIMED AT IMPOSING FREEDOM OF PASSAGE THROUGH THE SUEZ CANAL HAD BEEN A SIMILAR ASSAULT ON SOVEREIGNTY AND A TRAVESTY OF LAW. COMMENTING ON LORD CARADON'S REFERENCE ON 29 MAY TO THE QUOTE MODERATION AND RESTRAINT UNQUOTE OF THE U.A.R. DELEGATE'S SPEECH, BEN HIMA SAID THAT THIS HAD LED HIM TO BELIEVE THAT MR. WILSON'S GOVERNMENT WOULD HANDLE THE TRANSIT PROBLEM

/ MORE

MORE INTELLIGENTLY THAN MR. DEN'S. BUT THE LATEST BRITISH APPEAL FOR A CONFERENCE OF MARITIME STATES(SIC) WAS VERY DISAPPOINTING. THE COUNCIL SHOULD NOW TRY TO INSTITUTE A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS UNDERLYING ARAB/ISRAEL TENSION. THE GREAT POWERS SHOULD GIVE THE LEAD AND SHOW THAT THEIR MORAL AS WELL AS THEIR PHYSICAL STRENGTH COULD BE USED TO SUPPORT THE VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION RATHER THAN , AS HITHERTO, THE AGGRESSORS.

7. AL RASHASH (SAUDI ARABIA) SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT MAINTAINED THAT THE GULF OF AQABA AND STRAITS OF TIRAN HAD BEEN UNDER ARAB CONTROL SINCE TIME IMMEMORIAL. THEY WERE ARAB TERRITORIAL WATERS. THE THEORY THAT THE GULF WAS AN INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY WAS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. THE DETAILED ARGUMENTS HAD BEEN WELL DEPLOYED BY OTHER ARAB DELEGATES. HE THEN GAVE A ROUTINE HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE PLIGHT OF THE PALESTINE REFUGEES. HE WARNED THAT ANY RESOLUTION IN THE COUNCIL WHICH FELL SHORT OF DEALING WITH THE PALESTINE QUESTION IN A SATISFACTORY WAY WOULD BE CONSIDERED EVASION OF THE COUNCIL'S RESPONSIBILITIES.

8. FEDORENKO (USSR) MADE A SHORT SPEECH IN WHICH HE ACCUSED THE UNITED STATES OF BEING HYPOCRITICAL IN SETTING HERSELF UP AS THE DEFENDER OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND FREEDOM OF NAVI-GATION BECAUSE OF HER DEEDS AGAINST CUBA, WHICH OPENLY VIOLATED THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. HE WENT ON TO CITE THE BOMBING OF A SOVIET SHIP BY AMERICAN PLANES ON 2 JUNE IN A HARBOUR FIFTY MILES FROM HAIPHONG AS YET ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF BANDITRY AND AMERICAN VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. HE SAID THAT THE U A R IN FACING A THREAT EXERCISED BY SOME STATES CLAIMING TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THE MARITIME POWERS WAS IN EFFECT BEING THREATENED BY 19TH CENTURY GUNBOAT DIPLOMACY. SUCH ACTIONS WERE NOT MEANT TO SERVE THE CAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE, BUT SIMPLY TO ASSIST ISRAELI AGGRESSION. SUCH CRIMINAL ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES DEPRIVED IT OF THE MORAL RIGHT OF COMING TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO CONDEMN THE ACTION OF OTHERS. AN END MUST BE PUT ONCE AND FOR ALL TO THIS ROLE OF

/ QUOTE

QUOTE SELF-STYLED WORLD POLICEMAN UNQUOTE.
9. KEITA (MALI) FIRST PAID TRIBUTE TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S EFFORTS AND THEN IN A SOMEWHAT TORTUOUS ARGUMENT TRIED TO SHOW THAT THE EUROPEANS, WHO HAVE NO LOVE FOR THE JEWS, WERE TRYING TO TURN THE ARABS AGAINST THE JEWS TO CONTINUE THEIR EXTERMINATION WHICH THEY HAD FAILED TO COMPLETE TWENTY TWO YEARS AGO. ON THE OTHER HAND HE STATED THAT THE ARABS HAD NO FEELING OF RACISM AGAINST THE JEWS, WHO ARE OF THE SAME BLOOD AS THEMSELVES. ISRAEL HE SAID WAS A POCKETOF IMPERIALISM CREATED IN AN UNDERDEVELOPED AREA, AS HAD BEEN DONE BY THE IMPERIALISTIC POWERS ELSEWHERE. HE ENDED BY SUGGESTING THAT THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE MUST BE TACKLED OBJECTIVELY. HIS COUNTRY WOULD SUPPORT ANY EFFECTIVE MEASURE TO KEEP PEACE IN THAT AREA SO LONG AS IT DID NOT OFFEND AGAINST THE U.A.R.'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER ITS NATIONAL TERRITORY.
10. SEYDOUX (FRANCE) DREW ATTENTION TO THE IMPARTIAL POSITION HIS COUNTRY TOOK ON THIS PROBLEM BECAUSE OF ITS AGE-OLD TIES WITH THE ARAB WORLD, AND ITS DETERMINATION THAT THE EXISTENCE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL SHOULD BE ENSURED. HE WAS NOT GOING TO YIELD TO THE TEMPTATION TO DRAW ATTENTION TO CERTAIN PARAGRAPHS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT, AS OTHERS HAD, TO SUPPORT A PARTICULAR POSITION. THE REPORT SHOULD BE REVIEWED AS A WHOLE. THE PROBLEM WAS WHAT COULD USEFULLY BE DONE TO SAFEGUARD PEACE NOW: AND WHAT COULD THE COUNCIL ACHIEVE SUBSEQUENTLY CONCERNING THE BASIC PROBLEMS WHICH IT COULD NOT EVADE. SO FAR IT HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO EMBARK ON AN OBJECTIVE LINE OF ACTION IN THE COUNCIL BECAUSE OF THE OPPOSING VIEWS'WHICH HAD BEEN EXPRESSED THERE. IT WAS ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT THEREFORE TO OBTAIN AN IMMEDIATE RESPITE WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO A PSYCHOLOGICAL AND EVEN A MILITARY DETENTE. THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD AGREE TO CALL ON ALL PARTIES TO REFRAIN FROM MAKING ANY EFFORTS WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO AN INCREASE OF TENSION DURING THE PERIOD OF THE RESPITE. IN ALL THIS HE STATED THERE WAS A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY INCUMBENT UPON THE GREAT POWERS, AND HE APPEALED TO OTHER PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO JOIN THEIR EFFORTS WITH THAT OF HIS OWN GOVERNMENT TO BRING ABOUT A REDUCTION OF TENSION AND NEGOTIATION. IT WAS FRUITLESS TO ALLOW THE COUNCIL'S

/ DISCUSSION

DISCUSSION AT THE MOMENT TO LEAD TO A VOTE ON ANY DRAFT RESOLUTION AS IT WAS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT THERE COULD BE A CONSENSUS FOR ONE.

11. AFTER A RIGHT OF REPLY BY MAKONNEN (ETHIOPIA) AND FURTHER LENGTHY EXCHANGES BETWEEN GOLDBERG (U.S.) AND FEDORENKO (U.S.S.R.), THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED THAT THE NEXT MEETING OF THE COUNCIL WOULD BE HELD ON MONDAY, 5 JUNE AT 3 P.M., ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL WOULD HOLD THEMSELVES AVAILABLE FOR FURTHER CONSULTATIONS OVER THE WEEKEND, AND ON THE FURTHER UNDERSTANDING THAT AN URGENT MEETING OF THE COUNCIL MIGHT BE HELD OVER THE WEEKEND IF EVENTS SO REQUIRED.

F.O. PASS MOSCOW 104, PARIS 109, TEL AVIV 114, AND SAVING AMMAN 25, BAGHDAD 11, BEIRUT 45, ADDIS ABABA 24, NEW DELHI 16, LAGOS 11, COPENHAGEN 36, RABAT 14 AND JEDDA 23.

LORD CARADON

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[REPETITION TO MOSCOW, TEL AVIV REFERRED FOR DEPARTMENTAL DECISION, REPEATED AS REQUESTED TO OTHER POSTS].

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PRIORITY KHARTOUM TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Telno. 200 3 June, 1967

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Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 200 of 3 June.
Repeated for information to: U.K. Mission New York, Washington, Cairo and Saving to: Amman, Beirut, Damascus, Jedda, Baghdad, Bahrain, Tripoli, Tunis, Rabat, BHC Aden (Personal), Benghazi

Middle East Situation.

I discussed this with the new Prime Minister last night.

2. He said that the Arabs had waited for juctice for twenty years. The Western Powers had asked them to remain patient too long. The United Nations had been ineffective. The time had now come for a confrontation. His Government would send military forces to the Middle East next week and there would be thousands of volunteers to follow. He wanted a peaceful solution but he was not in favour of a United Nations force to maintain the status quo. The only acceptable settlement would be the original United Nations partition and the resettlement of refugees. Some Arab Governments might object even to this but he would be prepared to work for it. I quoted your speech in Parliament on 31 May and said that Her Majesty's Government did not intend to take sides or pass judgment. We believed that war would be an utter disaster for all and that a peaceful solution must be found by every means open to us. We should do our utmost in the United Nations to achieve this. However, we had strong views on the freedom of innocent passage in the Gulf of Aqaba, denial of which would have most serious implications. I quoted the Black Sea and Baltic and other examples where it is vital to maintain the principle and referred to the Geneva Convention. He said that there would be no objection to shipping carrying non-warlike cargoes to Eilat but in a "state of belligerency" the Arab nations had every right to intercept war materials. I pointed out that the United Nations position was that the Armistice Agreements were still in force and this must be the foundation for United Nations efforts for a peaceful settlement. He said this was unrealistic and that a state of belligerency already existed.

3. He said he was glad to have had the talk and to know that Her Majesty's Government would not take sides. He was sure that Britain and the Sudan "working together" could do much to find a solution.

4. I fear that Mahgoub's position is scarcely distinguishable from Cairo's and that we shall not in fact find him receptive to our line.

Foreign Office pass U.K.Mission New York 5, Washington 9, Cairo 21 and Saving to Amman 1, Beirut 5, Damascus 1, Jedda 2, Baghdad 1, Bahrain 2, Tripoli 1, Tunis 1, Rabat 1, BHC Aden (Personal) 1 and Benghazi 1.

Sir R. Fowler

Sent 0944Z 3 June
Recd. 1752Z 3 June

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 16 JUN 1967

[Repetition to Cairo referred for departmental decision, repeated as requested to other Posts]

FO/CO/WH DISTRIBUTION
Eastern Dept.

CONFIDENTIAL

O.S. Nothing can be identified should like to see it. A.L. Sowton 28.VI 13/VI

* Cmnd 584. Middle East 15 (1958) * AJS 28.VI

46 Rabat 1076

CONFIDENTIAL

Cypher/Cat A

PRIORITY KHARTOUM TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Telno. 202 3 June 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 202 of 3 June
Repeated for information to UKMIS New York, Washington, Cairo, and Saving to Amman, Beirut, Damascus, Jedda, Baghdad, Bahrain, Tripoli, Tunis, Rabat, H.C. Aden and Tel Aviv.

My telegram No. 200 above. Middle East Situation.

The Prime Minister summoned the Heads of all non-Arab and non-African Missions to a meeting this morning at the Foreign Ministry. He made a short statement to the following effect.

2. The Sudan has enjoyed friendly relations with your countries. Now the Arab nation faces a crisis. Those who stand with us in this crisis will continue to be our friends, those who do not will no longer be our friends.

3. Two points were not precise. It was not clear whether he wished our Governments to know that those who were not with the Arabs in their confrontation with Israel would be regarded as against them or whether he was issuing a warning against support for Israel. It was also not clear whether he was implying a break in relations or merely an end to friendly relations.

4. In view of my private conversation with him last night when he reacted favourably to my assurance that Her Majesty's Government's policy was to avoid taking sides or pronouncing judgements I think it would be reasonable to apply this interpretation to what he said this morning. I think it quite likely, however, that he would consider a declaration in which we played a leading role in favour of full right of innocent passage through the Straits of Tiran as positive support for Israel.

5. The Prime Minister also emphasised at this morning's meeting his view that the Israelis had never honoured any United Nations resolution and that United Nations action, to be acceptable, would have to go back to the 1948 Resolution.

6. An hour before his meeting he signed an agreement with the United States Ambassador for an 11 million loan for sorghum.

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 16 JUN 1967

Foreign Office pass UKMIS New York 6, Washington 10, Cairo 22, and Saving to Amman 2, Beirut 6, Damascus 2, Jedda 3, Baghdad 2, Bahrain 3, Tripoli 2, Tunis 2, Rabat 2, H.C. Aden 1 and Tel Aviv 1.

Sir R. Fowler Sent 1510Z/3 June
Received 1818Z/3 June

[Repeated as requested]

FO/CO/WH/DISTRIBUTION
Eastern Dept.

PPPPP

1076
Nixon en
Grand crise

LA VIGIE - SUNDAY 4 JUNE

Mr. Nixon visits Morocco

RABAT, 4 juin. — M. Richard Nixon, ancien vice-président des Etats-Unis, arrivera au Maroc demain lundi 5, pour une visite de deux jours. Le Maroc sera ainsi la première étape d'un voyage d'étude privé que M. Nixon s'apprête à effectuer à travers un certain nombre de pays africains et qui se poursuivra jusqu'au 25 juin.

M. Richard Nixon quittera Casablanca pour Alger, dans l'après-midi du 6 juin.

CONFIDENTIAL

(10713) 1076
IMMEDIATE

TRIPOLI

4:6:67 pm

340 4:6:67

FO
WASHINGTON 27
CAIRO 19
KHARTOUM 3
BEIRUT 10
DAMASCUS 10
AMMAN 9
JEDDA 4
BAHRAIN 1
KUWAIT 2
BAGHDAD 7
JIC CYPRUS U/N

Saving to: BENGHAZI
TPS MALTA
RABAT 3
ALGIERS
TUNIS
TEL AVIV

See above. duly 8/6

CONFIDENTIAL
Addressed to FO tel. No.340 of 4 June, 1967 repeated for information to Washington, Cairo, Khartoum, Beirut, Damascus, Amman, Jedda, Bahrain, Kuwait, Baghdad, JIG Cyprus, and saving to Benghazi, Troops Malta, Rabat, Algiers, Tunis and Tel Aviv.

MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

The enormous increase in Nasser's prestige since beginning of Israel/UAR confrontation has had the effect in Libya of giving fresh, and for the UK, very damaging weight to UAR propaganda. In the course of 3 June we received anguished representations from a number of prominent Tripolitanians who have always been noteworthy for their friendship to the UK, to say that for the first time since Suez popular resentment was focusing on the UK, and to urge with all their strength that we should take a less prominent part in such matters as the Gulf of

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY
-6 JUN 1967

of Tiran, leaving the running of the United States from whom some support for Israel seems to be expected. They spoke with admiration of the aloof policy of General de Gaulle, (although they are well aware of the French part in arming Israel, from which the General's equivocal statements have successfully distracted attention), and wished the UK could play a less prominent rôle. They drew my attention with the greates earnestness to the empassioned and almost religious ferbour felt throughout Libya by all sections and shades of opinion for the Arab cause, led by Nasser against the Israelis. This sentiment was so strong that if exacerbated, neither the Government nor even The King could indefinitely protect our interests in Libya. They mentioned in particular that the Prime Minister's recent travels to Canada and USA had given the impression to the Arabs that he was taking the leadership in attempting to mount an anti-Arab and pro-Israeli coalition.....Our Libyan friends would like to counter Egyptian propaganda against us but can find nothing in BBC news to help them. Your speech of May 31 was useful but has been overtaken.

2. Libya and no doubt other Arabs do not know or care about maritime questions and HMG's assumption of her historic rôle of leadership of the maritime nations in defence of freedom of the seas is seen, in Libya at least, in the present circumstances, as nothing more than wholehearted support of Israel against the Arabs. It is the more deeply resented as coming from the UK which in Libya, is so respected and trusted.

3. Our commercial and oil interests in Libya are now as great as anywhere in the Arab world

/and.....

and are rapidly growing. Defence sales alone might amount to £100 million. All this will be at risk unless we can give the Libyans some arguments with which to justify their continued pro-British policy. I fear our recent activity has only served in Libya to enable Egyptian propaganda to erode our position and interests.

4. As seen from here there isan urgent need if we are to avoid damage to our interests in Libya, for HMG to make some conciliatory gesture to the Arabs which, suitably publicised by the BBC, could help our Arab friends. In recent days they have looked in vain and with dismay at HMG's apparent and increasing support, as they see it, for Israel.

5. A statement of our support for the integrity of all countries in the area and our unqualified opposition to any eventual aggression, as much Israeli as Arab, would be helpful; also emphasis of our support for UN procedures which has already evoked the official welcome of the Libyan Government regarding Lord Caradon's statement.

FO pass W'ton 27, Cairo 19, Khartoum 3, Beirut 10, Damascus 10, Amman 9, Jedda 4, Bahrain 1, Kuwait 2, Baghdad 7 and U/N MOD for JIG Cyprus.

SARELL

CONFIDENTIAL

CHANCERY,
RABAT.

With the compliments

of the

British Embassy in Libya,

Tripoli, Libya.

4 June, 1967.

1076

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

Will done.

Explaining British Middle East Policy to Moroccan Newspaper Editors

Having, just a few days before, paid my introductory calls, with Mr. Ward, to the various editors, on which occasions) ~~I~~ I urged each one up generally, I found Mr. Brown's Speech an excellent excuse for calling on each of them again on my own as a quick follow up on my initial calls.

2. I spent the whole of Saturday morning putting over to them British Policy in the M.E. Because of the great gulf in attitudes to British motives in Aqaba ere. I had to do some pretty plain speaking; but I made the seriousness of the present situation my excuse for doing so.

3. Having read Saturday mornings' leading articles in the press I could see that there was General understanding of British policy where it accociated Britain as a trading nation with freedom of the seas (cf. leading article in "Al. Alam") in the same way

/as there

(96359) Wt.13880—33
5/62 St. S.

as there was understanding - if
not appreciation - of our
support of the existence of
Israel as a state on the
basis of U.N. endorsement. So
I concentrated on two aspects
where I said that British policy
has not interpreted correctly in
the Moroccan press. In the first place
our insistance on the right of
passage through the Gulf of Aqaba
was in defence of a principle
which we cherished throughout
the world and was divorced
entirely from the Israel question
[there I was invariably interrupted
with dissenting remarks]. In
the second place HMG's policy
(I said) was friendship equally
with Israel and with all the
Arab States. Commercial interests
made it common sense that
we should do all we
could to foster ~~the~~ Arab
trade.

/The Reactions of ...

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

The Reactions of the Editors Minutes

4. In every case the proposition that our motives in Aqaba were divorced from the Israel question was rejected. Our declarations about Aqaba (I was told) amounted to support for Israel against the Arabs. If I pressed too much the arguments that supported the view that Aqaba was an international seaway I invariably aroused retorts that Israel's outlet to the Gulf of Aqaba was plundered by the Israelis in defiance of the U.N. decisions on the armistice line.

5. Again, saying that Britain sought friendship with both Israel & the Arabs made little impression. "One cannot be with the Israelis and the Arabs. If one is with the Israelis one is against the Arabs." Of course I referred them to the instances in the UN where we had displayed

/our impartiality - -

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(96359) Wt.13880—33
5/62 St.S.

Minutes

our impartiality. I admitted (off the record, of course) that in the past H.M.G. policy had not always been as clear as it might have been [this immediately aroused their interest] and I commended to their attention a study of Mr. Brown's opening speech in Parliament. At this moment it was most useful for me to be able to hand over a copy of the text in Arabic (I was using Arabic throughout in these exchanges), which was, by this time, accepted with interest & with curiosity!

Individual Reactions

6. Mr. GHALLAB, Editor of 'Al Ahram' is very sincere and forthcoming. He said that since H.M.G. policy vis-à-vis Aqaba amounted to support for Israel, it followed that it was anti-Arab. There could be no middle road.

/Mr. Ghallab ...

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

Minutes

7. Mr. Ghallab regretted that British policy was always bringing her to the side of Israel against the Arabs [I referred him to the UN instances quoted by Mr. Brown]

8. I asked him how Moroccans were reacting. He said there was mounting opposition to British & American attitudes & (and that there was) Arab solidarity generally.

9. Like the others Mr. Ghallab insisted that one cannot separate Aqaba from the Israel question.

10. If need be, Moroccans would go to war with the Arabs to secure their rights.

11. Mr. TANJAOUI, Editor of Al-Anba', seemed genuinely pleased to have the opportunity to discuss the situation with me. Since he speaks only Arabic I dare say the opportunities to hear other points of view are for him limited.

12. His Sub-editor Mr. BUSARGHINE joined with him in what was an exceedingly friendly, but, at the same time, quite frank, discussion.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

(96359) Wt.13380—33
5/62 St. S.

discussion.

13. They dismissed any idea that the Gulf of Aqaba was an international seaway, or even that, as Arab or Egyptian territorial waters, there was any right of passage through it to international shipping; and they began piling on arguments enthusiastically and emotionally ~~telling~~ about how the port of Eilath had been set up on plundered soil in defiance of the armistice lines set up by the U.N.

14. When I asked Mr TANJAOUI what he could tell me of Moroccan public opinion and feelings these days he said that Morocco was in a better position than the other Arab countries to appreciate British policy towards the Arabs, ~~Middle East~~, being more remote from the ferocity that generates

/ from the muddle...

MARGIN

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS

from the Middle East. But
in the present crisis all Moroccans
were inevitably solidly behind
Egypt and the other Arab countries
in the struggle to see put right
the wrong done to Palestine.

15. With Mr. Driss FALLAH, Editor of "L'Opinion" I found much less openness than with the others. He listened patiently to what I had to say, and being a man who can turn on a lot of charm he preferred to make brief sweet noises to the effect that everything ~~between~~ in the garden was lovely between Britain and the Arabs, rather than be drawn into disclosing his real feelings. When I felt that this had gone on too far I went right to the extreme and said that every day the newspaper columns called us imperialists; but that the days of the British Empire were long since over.

/ This caused ...

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(96359) Wt.13380—33
5/62 St. S.

Minutes

16. This caused Mr FALLAH to retort, with less than the usual veneer of charm, that our behaviour in Aden and elsewhere in the Arab World showed up Britain's imperialist designs. I fired back that Britain had launched more ~~independent~~ countries into independence and freedom than any other ex-colonial power I could think of.

Conclusions

17. I got the strongest impression from these lengthy discussions that Moroccans are wholeheartedly, spontaneously and emotionally, behind Egypt in her stand for restoration of Palestinian rights. I must say that from such experience as I have had of the Arabs I would not have expected it to be otherwise.

/ Morocco has ..

THIS MARGIN TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

Minutes

B. Morocco has been described as a 'Reluctant Dragon' in its conformity with the Arab line. This, I ~~[illegible]~~ have no doubt, is the description that best befits those who bear the responsibilities of Governing the Country and who, anything for a quiet life, would willingly keep out of the fray if they could.

19. But from what I can judge from these few first impressions, there is nothing reluctant about the enthusiasm of the Moroccan people. At the same time I was assured that there was no bitterness to the West and no real mounting tension within Morocco.

20. But, I submit, to overstate the point that our policy in Aqaba is in defence of a maritime principle and quite apart from our policy on Israel only leads to charges of disingenuousness and gets us nowhere.

John Simmarman.
4 June 1967.

H.E. Will [illegible]

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

(96359) Wt.13880—33
5/62 St. S.

Well done indeed. I did not expect you to be able to convince people when their emotions are involved but to sow some seeds of intellectual doubt. This, I am sure, you have done.

The "freedom of the seas" point is the best we have. We cannot deny that our insistence on this principle works in this case in favour of Israel - but the closure of the Straits is a potential threat to Jordan and Saudi Arabia as well and I do not hesitate to maintain that we should have refused to recognise it, whether Israel was present at Eilat or not.

P.C. 5/6

5/VI

HofC

5/6

X 5/6/67

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

1076.
Supp re Israel Crisis

LE PETIT MAROCAIN - MONDAY 5 JUNE

LE DOCTEUR AHMED LARAKI EST PARTI POUR LE CAIRE

RABAT, 4 juin (M.A.P.). — Le Dr Ahmed Laraki, ministre des Affaires étrangères a quitté dimanche après-midi, à 14 h 20, Casablanca à destination du Caire via Paris.

Le ministre a été salué à son départ par MM. Abdellah Chorfi, sous-secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires étrangères, Hassan Fahmi Abdelmagid, ambassadeur de la R.A.U. à Rabat, Mohammed Hajjaj, adjoint du gouverneur de la Préfecture de Casablanca ainsi que par MM. Bennani Smires, du protocole du ministère et Abderrahim Harakat, ambassadeur, chef du service de presse à ce département.

Dans une déclaration à la presse, le Dr Laraki a rappelé la position du Maroc vis-à-vis de la situation actuelle au Moyen-Orient, précisant que Sa Majesté le roi avait proposé une conférence au sommet des souverains et chefs d'Etat arabes, et le maintien d'un contact direct entre les pays de la Ligue Arabe.

Le ministre a ajouté que le président Jamal Abdel Nasser avait dans sa réponse à la proposition royale soulevé les difficultés qui empêchent la tenue de cette réunion et remercié par la même occasion Sa Majesté le Roi pour le soutien inconditionnel du Maroc à la République Arabe Unie.

« C'est dans le but de maintenir ce contact direct que je me rends au Caire », a conclu le ministre en annonçant qu'il était porteur d'un nouveau message personnel de Sa Majesté le roi au président Nasser.

1076

INWARD TELEGRAM

En clair
Code Code R
Cypher
(Paraphrase Heading)
Cypher/OTP
En Clair by Conf. Bag

Cypher/OTA

[Distribution Heading]

FROM Tripoli TO Rabat

[Signature]

[No. and prefix] No. 221 D M

[Date] 5 June R M

Repeated to

[Priority] Priority.

CONFIDENTIAL.

ADDRESSED TO AMMAN TELEGRAM NO. 944 OF 5 JUNE

REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO BEIRUT DAMASCUS

BAGHDAD KUWAIT JEDDA CAIRO KHARTOUM TRIPOLI

BENGHAZI TUNIS ALGIERS RABAT JERUSALEM WASHINGTON

UKMIS NEW YORK TEL AVIV BAHRAIN H.C. ADEN AND

PARIS.

THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION.

DISTRIBUTION

THE HEADS OF ARAB MISSIONS IN LONDON CAME TOGETHER

TO SEE ME TODAY AT THEIR OWN REQUEST. THEY HAD

ASKED FOR THIS MEETING BEFORE THE NEWS OF THE

OUTBREAK OF FIGHTING TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON

H.M.G.~S POSITION AS SET OUT IN MINISTERIAL

SPEECHES DURING THE HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATE

LAST WEEK. THEY BROUGHT WITH THEM AN AIDE MEMOIRE

WHICH SET OUT ARGUMENTS WHY H.M.G.~S POSITION.

PARTICULARLY OVER THE STRAITS OF TIRAN. WAS NOT

COMPATIBLE WITH THEIR DECLARED INTENTION OF NOT

ADVANCE COPIES TO:—

TAKING SIDES BETWEEN THE ARABS AND ISRAEL.

389.Wt.37518/D161.1000.11/63.C.P.L.Gp.626.

2. The Lebanese

2. THE LEBANESE AND SUDANESE AMBASSADORS, AS SPOKESMEN FOR THEIR COLLEAGUES, ADDED TO THIS AN APPEAL THAT H.M.G. SHOULD MAINTAIN NEUTRALITY IN THE LIGHT OF ISRAEL~S QUOTE AGGRESSION UNQUOTE AGAINST THEM IN THE FIGHTING WHICH HAD STARTED TODAY. THEY SAID THEY HAD NOTICED FROM MY STATEMENT IN THE HOUSE THIS AFTERNOON THAT H.M.G. HAD ADOPTED A NEUTRAL POSITION. BUT WISHED ME TO BE AWARE OF THE REASONS WHY THEY FOUND OUR POSITION BEFORE THE FIGHTING BROKE OUT UNSATISFACTORY.

3. I REAFFIRMED H.M.G.~S NEUTRALITY AS BETWEEN THE ARABS AND ISRAEL. I HAD BEEN AT PAINS THAT AFTERNOON TO MAKE A BALANCED STATEMENT WHICH WOULD KEEP THE POSITION OPEN FROM WHICH I COULD BRING THE MAXIMUM INFLUENCE TO BEAR IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND OF NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE MAIN ISSUES. ALTHOUGH I HAD NOT HESITATED TO CRITICISE ISRAEL IN THE PAST (E.G. OVER THE SAMU INCIDENT) IT WOULD DO NO GOOD IF I SET MYSELF UP AS AN ADJUDICATOR ON THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CURRENT FIGHTING. OUR AIM MUST BE FIRST TO BRING ABOUT A CEASEFIRE AND THEN MAKE OUR SERVICES available

/BAVAILABLE TOWARDS THE NEGOTIATION OF A SETTLEMENT.

4. AS REGARDS THE STRAITS OF TIRAN, THERE WAS A SPECIFIC BRITISH INTEREST HERE WHICH IT WAS MY DUTY TO UPHOLD. WHILE I COULD SEE THE ARAB ARGUMENTS, THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS WAS AN ISSUE OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO BRITAIN SINCE THERE WERE OTHER NAVIGABLE STRAITS IN THE WORLD WHICH WERE ALSO OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE.

5. LAST WEEK THE FLASHPOINT APPEARED TO BE THE GULF OF AQABA AND IF WE HAD SEEMED TO CONCENTRATE ON THAT PROBLEM IT WAS BECAUSE WE WERE DOING OUR BEST TO HEAD OFF ONE SIDE FROM A PRE-EMPTIVE MOVE. EVEN IF THE ARAB COUNTRIES WANTED TO FIGHT TO THE END, IN THE CONFIDENT BELIEF THAT THEY WOULD WIN, FOR US A WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST WAS VERY DANGEROUS AND BROUGHT ENORMOUS RISKS BECAUSE OF THE INTERESTS INVOLVED OUTSIDE THE REGION.

6. I THEN WENT ON TO MAKE TWO POINTS VERY STRONGLY.

FIRSTLY, I SAID THAT I, AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

4/ Reached badly

REACTED BADLY TO BEING THREATENED. AND I WAS DISTURBED BY THE TONE OF MESSAGES WHICH WE HAD BEEN RECEIVING ABOUT WHAT THE ARAB STATES WOULD DO TO OUR INTERESTS IF WE DID NOT FOLLOW THE COURSES THEY WANTED. WE AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES HAD MANY INTERESTS IN COMMON AND WE HAD GONE OUT OF OUR WAY TO HELP SOME OF THEM (E.G. OVER EXPENSIVE DEFENCE COMMITMENTS). THE OIL INDUSTRY AND THEIR STERLING INVESTMENTS WERE BENEFICIAL TO THEM AS WELL AS TO THE UNITED KINGDOM.

7. SECONDLY, I WAS MUCH PUT OUT BY THE NEWS OF ATTACKS ON BRITISH DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR PREMISES WHICH WAS COMING IN. I WAS CONCERNED TO UPHOLD GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALL THE ARAB COUNTRIES AND I CALLED UPON ALL THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS TO TAKE PROPER CARE OF BRITISH EMBASSIES AND CONSULATES TO PREVENT THEM FROM BEING THE SUBJECTS OF ATTACK. JUST AS WE WOULD DO IN THIS COUNTRY. WE WOULD IN THE FUTURE STILL HAVE MANY JOINT INTERESTS WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE LOOKED AFTER AND IT WAS VITAL THAT THE FUTURE SHOULD

must be

NOT BE PREJUDICED BY ATTACKS ON OUR MISSIONS.

I HAD TO HOLD THE SITUATION HERE AND PREVENT EMOTIONS FROM SPILLING OVER HERE TOO. THE TUNISIAN AND LIBYAN AMBASSADORS EXPRESSED DEEP REGRET FOR ANY SUCH INCIDENTS IN THEIR COUNTRIES. AND THE HEADS OF MISSIONS PROMISED TO REPORT TO THEIR GOVERNMENTTS WHAT I HAD SAID// SOSFA.

Please have a
translation of this
hon. typed up
on blue cartes paper
(with headings as on slip)
for me to hand to
Mr. Chorfi at 5pm
to-day.

6/VI

Done.

AZS 7.VI

I (Heading)

Traduction informelle

[redacted] un télégramme

dirigé à l'Ambassadeur

du [redacted].U. Britannique à

Rabat par le Secrétaire

d'Etat aux Aff. Et.,

M. Brown

(1076/67)

TELEGRAM

Cypher [redacted] [redacted]

From:— RABAT *To*:— FOREIGN OFFICE

Despatched Received

No. 170 of 5 June, 1967.

PRIORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 170 of 5 June.

My telegram No. 164.

Moroccan Reaction to Middle East Crisis

Situation here on eve of outbreak of hostilities was far from clear cut.

2. Opposition parties were exploiting the situation for their own purposes. They had become increasingly vocal, demanding more forthright support of Nasser and vigorously attacking Britain and America. Though offer to send troops somewhat relieved pressure on King Hassan from Istiqlal, Communists and U.N.F.P. were uncompromising. Latter was calling on the masses to take things into their own hands. Embassy of U.A.R. was actively stimulating anti-Anglo Saxon attitude of opposition and both my U.S. colleague and I had to protest to Moroccan Government against particularly venemous Embassy bulletins. Attitude of U.S.S.R. and France was, however, evoking friendly comment in press. U.M.T. and U.G.T.M. were threatening boycott of shipping under "pro-Israel" flags. Such evidence as is available suggests that grass roots opinion was unreasoningly committed to the Arab cause.

3. The "establishment" on the contrary remained notably calm. Governors of Casablanca, Fez, and Agadir all assured me that they had the situation completely in hand. Government had suppressed issues of two newspapers which took the extremist line of the U.N.F.P.

/and.....

I.O.
O.S
D.A.
FS(E) } a/a.
LA

diff. circ.

(4006) Wt.32978/D126 50m 9/63 G.W.B.Ltd. Gp.863

TELEGRAM

Cypher code en clair

From:— *To*:—

Despatched Received

No. of

and the Communists. Ministers remained accessible and friendly though Minister of Defence warned me that the emotional reaction might be uncontrollable if we attempted to force the straits of Tiran: this, he said, was what Nasser was hoping for. Suspicion of latter remained strong in government circles and King Hassan's proposal for an Arab summit was interpreted as an attempt to wrest control of the crisis from Nasser's hands.
Despatch of Foreign Minister to Cairo on receipt of Masser's lukewarm reply to summit proposal provideded evidence of King Hassan's determination to prevent the moderates being taken over by the wild men, both in the Arab world and in Morocco itself.

4. The Moroccan Government are only reluctantly swimming with the Nasserist tide. They have no illusions about the dangers of Nasserism, but they were already uncomfortably isolated and would have been exposed to intolerable pressures both internally and from the other Arab countries (including Algeria) if they had laid themselves open to a charge of treachery by failing to support the Arab cause. They have done and said the minimum necessary to maintain their influence in the Arab world and the support of public opinion at home. I fear that the outbreak of hostilities may unleash passions which will make it more difficult for them to persevere with moderate policies.

5. Foreign Office please repeat as necessary.

HOLLIDAY

(4006) Wt.32978/D126 50m 9/63 G.W.B.Ltd. Gp.863

London Press Service

Verbatim Service

verbatim service 235/67 monday 5th june 1967.

middle east : foreign secretary's commons statement (extracts).

following are verbatim extracts of statement by the foreign secretary in the house of commons today monday 5th june 1967.

the house will have learned with deep concern that early this morning hostilities broke out in the middle east. the situation is still unclear. there has been heavy ground fighting on the borders of israel and the united arab republic. there has been substantial air activity, including attacks on airfields in the united arab republic and elsewhere. there has also been air activity over israel. there are reports of fighting on other frontiers of israel.

i cannot emphasise too strongly how much her majesty's govt regret this tragic development. it was precisely in an attempt to avert the risk of such a development that the govt took the step i put before the house on 31st may. as the house knows, we have repeatedly urged by all means open to us on both israel and the arab states the need to exercise restraint and seek a solution to their problems through peaceful negotiations.

our immediate aim must clearly be to bring about an early and general cease fire. the security council has been convened and is about to begin its emergency meeting. i hope that it will proceed immediately to the adoption of a resolution calling for this cease fire.

the government's attitude - and the house will i know support me in saying this - is that the british concern is not to take sides but to ensure a peaceful solution to the problems of that area and that in this situation we have the same interest as that of others in the area as well as the rest of the world. the house will wish to know that instructions are being given to all our forces in the area to avoid any involvement in the conflict.

all merchant shipping due to pass through the suez canal is being advised to delay transit for 24 hours. our advice will be kept under constant review.

i have received reports of mob attacks on our embassies in benghazi, tripoli and tunis and on the consulate in basra. i am maintaining the closest touch with all our posts and will be raising this subject with the arab ambassadors when i see them later this afternoon. we shall make further report to the house as the situation develops.

ends verbatim service 235/67.....lps..